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WHY JAPAN RESISTS RUSSIA.

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THE task of explaining Japan's motives in resisting the accomplishment of Russia's aims in the Far East is not a difficult one. Nevertheless, I undertake it with some hesitation, because the causes which brought about the present situation have been so frankly explained by my Government that further comment seems almost superfluous. Possibly, however, there may be an impression in some minds that Japan has gone to war from motives of ambition, or that her success would endanger the interests of friendly nations; and, to controvert even a problematical belief of that kind, I gladly avail myself of this opportunity to recapitulate the facts.

The fundamental purpose of Japan's action has been to safeguard vital interests which would be seriously menaced if Russia absorbed Manchuria, and followed that by the inevitable sequence of such action, the absorption of Corea. There is no reason to doubt that the latter step forms part of the general scheme of Russia's advance in the Far East. Her course in Manchuria points to the conclusion that she intends to make its provinces, sooner or later, a part of the Russian Empire. Russia once in

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undisputed possession of Manchuria, the Corean peninsula would be an easy prey; and there is nothing in what we know of the rules that govern Russian policy in the Far East that suggests the belief that the temptation would be resisted.

To Japan everything affecting Corean affairs is of the gravest consequence. Occupancy by a foreign Power would mean, at the very least, the restriction of the commerce and of the peaceful activities of her people in the most promising field for their development on the continent of Asia. If the occupying Power were Russia, it would mean far more; because it would certainly entail measures of self-protection which could not but become a serious drain upon the national resources. I am speaking now, of course, of the political control of Corea by another Power. So far as commercial and other legitimate enterprises are concerned, Japan has never had the slightest desire either to prevent their introduction or to hamper their growth. On the contrary, if she had a deciding voice in the matter, such influences would be welcomed and fostered, as they contribute to the development of an independent, enlightened and prosperous nation; and that is precisely what Japan wishes Corea to be. Near neighborhood and the distribution of power in Asia make the welfare of the peninsular empire a matter of such vital concern to Japan that, from motives of policy, if for no other reason, she must favor anything which raises Corea in the scale of civilization and tends to prevent the recurrence of those chaotic conditions which endanger Corean and Japanese interests alike. Corea's first modern treaty, the treaty which introduced her into the family of nations, was made with Japan. It was based on principles of mutual equality and removed Corea from the anomalous position she then occupied, which rendered her a tempting object for aggression and conquest. The Japanese treaty was followed by one with the United States, and that by others with European Powers. Japan welcomed each one as another safeguard to the maintenance of the national entity of Corea so essential to her own repose and security. The relations of the two countries since that time have grown in importance. Notwithstanding several stormy episodes, these relations have been, on the whole, amicable and mutually beneficial; and, I firmly believe, an impartial verdict would be that Japan's conduct toward her weaker neighbor has been considerate and helpful. The war with China was the direct result

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of Japan's desire to maintain Corean independence, by preventing the continuance of a state of affairs which gave rise to the most serious complications. While one of the results of that war was, happily, the establishment of more cordial relations between Japan and China, in nothing that followed can there be found a trace of diminution of any of Corea's attributes as an independent State.

I have dwelt upon this phase of the question because, as I indicated at the outset, Japan's relations with Corea furnish the key-note of the situation. It is true that Japan has commercial interests in Manchuria, to the profitable development of which under normal conditions she had every reason to look forward with confident expectation. It is true, also, that under the policy inaugurated by Russia since her occupation of Manchuria this commerce has been threatened, if not with extinction, certainly with serious restriction. But considerations of this nature, and the injustices they entail, grave though they undoubtedly are, could never be regarded as sufficient reason for a resort to war. Other nations have important commercial interests in Manchuria which are affected injuriously by Russia's action in the same manner as those of Japan. But to no nation, except to China and Corea, has the trend of Russian policy in the Far East during the past few years been of such moment as to Japan. What was the ultimate object of that policy? Viewing the steadily widening area of Russian encroachment, a definite answer to that question became imperatively necessary. If Russia's ambition was as voracious as her actions, if not her words, indicated, there was no time to be lost in at least attempting to secure guarantees of safety. It has been said of Russia that she moves along the line of least resistance, but always moves, slowly, irresistibly, like a glacier. But since 1895 she has moved by leaps, and not always along the path where resistance was least to be expected. She effected the retrocession of Port Arthur, on the ground that its occupation by a foreign Power was a menace to the peace of the East and the integrity of China. Within three years, she held Port Arthur herself, under a nominal lease; and since then, by the expenditure of millions, she has made it a second Gibraltar. She obtained China's consent to shorten the Siberian railway by the construction of a line, under her own and China's joint control, south of the Amur. That simple concession quickly led to

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others; until, finally, a system of railways was evolved which gave Russia strategic control of the whole of North China, the share of China herself in the direction of the project having meanwhile dwindled into insignificant proportions. These symptoms of almost feverish activity in the extension of the Russian sphere of domination in the Far East culminated in the armed occupation of the whole of Manchuria, upon pretexts for which the Boxer troubles furnished occasion. Coincidently, there were indications of similar activity in Corea. Russian agents, official and unofficial, were pursuing a course that plainly indicated a design to gain control of important strategic points. In particular, there was an endeavor to widen a concession obtained by a Russian Company for cutting timber upon the Yalu into a project not unlike that carried out under the Manchurian concessions. The Japanese Government could not fail to view these movements with grave concern. It had shared in the settlement of the questions resulting from the Boxer disturbances on the same footing with other Treaty Powers, and had sought to gain no special advantage for Japan. Russia, on the other hand, retained possession of Manchuria long after the disturbances in China had ceased; and, although she had bound herself by treaty to withdraw her troops, signs were not wanting that she did not intend to keep the pledge except upon conditions still undivulged.

Such was the situation in the spring of last year. It then became known that the Russian *Chargé d'Affaires* at Peking, M. Plancon, was endeavoring to obtain additional pledges from the Chinese Government preliminary to the Russian evacuation. Denial was made at the time that such conditions had been proposed with the sanction of the Russian Government; but the fact remains that they were embodied by M. Plancon in an official communication, and that the Chinese Government regarded them as an expression of the wishes of Russia. Their plain intent was to place Manchuria as firmly under Russian control as would have been the case had Russia possessed the actual sovereignty. One stipulation, in particular, is of especial interest to Americans in the light of recent events. It read as follows:

"That the Chinese Government will not make any decision with regard to the opening to foreign trade of any new treaty-ports in Manchuria, and the establishment of foreign Consuls there, without previous consultation with the Imperial Government."

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M. Plancon was not successful, however, in obtaining China's assent to this, or to any other of the proposals he had made as conditions precedent to the fulfilment by Russia of her pledge to withdraw her forces from Manchuria. Then M. Lessar, the Russian Minister, returned to Peking, and there is incontrovertible proof of the fact that, soon after his return, he began negotiations identical in purpose with those which had been carried on by M. Plancon. Russia was, apparently, not willing to perform a treaty obligation originally unconditional, except upon terms not mentioned when she first incurred it. The nature of those terms can be judged from the demand made by M. Lessar upon the Chinese Government, as late as last September, that all mining, forestry and other similar concessions in Manchuria should be granted to Russia. Whether the Russian Government was aware of M. Plancon's original demands or not, or of M. Lessar's practical revival of them, it finally conceded the fact that negotiations were being carried on at Peking to "safeguard" Russia's interests preliminary to the evacuation of Manchuria. In July it informed the Treaty Powers that it had no intention of objecting to the opening of new treaty-ports, without "foreign settlements," for the development of trade.

The curious uncertainty which these occurrences disclosed regarding Russia's real intentions with reference to the future status of Manchuria, was the immediate cause which induced Japan to take the initial step to obtain from her a definite and binding understanding as to their respective interests in Corea and Manchuria. This step was taken in obedience to a duty which it would have been folly to disregard. In the presence of a situation that was becoming acute, and in the light of events hastening to a culmination that could not but be disastrous to her interests, self-protection demanded immediate action on Japan's part.

The first note formally embodying the views of the Japanese Government was sent to the Russian Government on the 12th of last August. I do not think I can do better than to quote in full the first three articles proposed therein as the basis of an agreement, since they embody the substance of Japan's case. They are as follows:

"*First.* A mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China and Corea;

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"*Second.* A mutual engagement to maintain the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in those countries; and

"*Third.* Reciprocal recognition of Japan's preponderating interests in Corea and of Russia's special interests in railway enterprises in Manchuria; and mutual recognition of the right of Japan and Russia, respectively, to take measures for the protection of the above-mentioned interests, *in so far as such measures do not violate the principles enunciated in Article I.*"

These articles embraced, in principle and scope, Japan's representations, from which there was no variation on her part during the progress of the negotiations. I desire to correct, at this point, the impression which seems to have been formed in some quarters, that the Japanese Government insisted upon its right to fortify the Straits of Corea, and thereby to menace not only Russia's line of communication between Vladivostock and Port Arthur, but also free navigation by the commerce of the world in those waters. The question was raised in one of the Russian counter proposals, and the Japanese Government in reply professed its willingness to engage not to interfere with the free navigation of the Straits of Corea. It could not, however, bind itself not to use any part of the territory of Corea for strategic purposes, especially in view of Russia's insistence upon a free hand in that respect, as well as in other respects, in Manchuria. In fact, the only agreement Russia would make regarding Manchuria was, not to impede the exercise of Japan's treaty rights, provided Japan would recognize the provinces as without her sphere of interest, and consent, moreover, to the establishment of a neutral zone comprising practically one-third of Corea, two conditions to which Japan had refused to accede before the proposition regarding Manchuria was made.

It is needless, however, to dwell further upon the details of the negotiations. They are now open to the world, and I firmly believe that the most careful scrutiny will show that my Government acted throughout in a spirit of moderation and conciliation. Each side may be confident of the justice of its cause; but, for our part, we can point to established facts as proof of the sincerity of our motives. If stress is laid upon the fact that Japan made warlike preparations during the progress of the negotiations, it need only be answered that, before negotiations began, Russia's military establishment in Manchuria and elsewhere in the Far East was out of all proportion to any apparent necessity, and that

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thereafter there was no cessation in the effort to increase its strength and efficiency. In view of this, it would have been folly on Japan's part not to prepare for the most serious eventuality.

I trust I have offered some proof of the suggestion with which I began this article, that there is no foundation for the belief that Japan was prompted to war by ambition, or that her success, if happily she be successful, implies any danger to other nations. To thoughtful Japanese, there can be no greater cause for wonder than the conjecture whether their country's success may not be the precursor of a new alignment of races, Oriental on the one side, Caucasian on the other. To them it seems no more than a chimerical dream, a suggestion of memories of the age of Genghis Khan, impossible of achievement in these better days of intimate intercourse and mutual interdependence among all nations.

Let me add, also, that those who endeavor to attach some measure of reproach to Japan by characterizing this as a war between a Christian and a non-Christian country, fail utterly to appreciate the efforts my countrymen have made to conform to the spirit as well as to the practices of modern civilization. Freedom of religious belief is as firmly guaranteed in Japan as in any country in the world; and I speak with no thought of self-laudation or of invidious comparison when I express the belief that rectitude of thought and conduct will be as fully exemplified by the actions of my countrymen during the present struggle as by those of their adversaries. Assured of the justice of our cause, yet not desirous of escaping judgment founded on knowledge, we do feel that we have the right to expect exemption from narrow-minded criticism based on prejudices of race or of creed.

K. TAKAHIRA.

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ENGLAND AND THE WAR.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

PERHAPS the wisest word that has yet been said on the present conflict between Japan and Russia is the application to it of Hegel's famous formula. It is not a struggle between right and wrong, but between right and right; or, to expand and emphasize the phrase, it is a struggle between might and might, between necessity and necessity. It was the fate, but in no way the fault, of Russia and Japan to be so placed that policies, deemed not merely profitable but absolutely essential by each, could be neither prosecuted without the certainty of conflict nor abandoned without a sacrifice such as no nation will peacefully submit to. Their antagonism from first to last has been in no sense artificial, or spasmodic, but permanent, deep-seated and unavoidable. And being so, one may add by way of parenthesis, the present war, whichever way it ends, cannot finally disarm or suppress it. To suppose otherwise is altogether to underestimate the forces that have necessitated it. For our day and generation, the issue may be decisive enough; but an antipathy of fundamental interests so vital as that which has driven Russia and Japan to arms is beyond compromise or adjustment, and the issues involved in it are too inseparably bound up with the first principles of national existence to be settled off-hand by a few campaigns.

To realize that this must be so, and to gauge the unalterable character of the factors that make up the problem, it is almost enough to supplement a glance at the map with the most elementary knowledge of Russia and Japan. To Japan, with her rapidly growing population, her restricted area and the change she is undergoing from a mainly agricultural to a mainly industrial State, unhampered intercourse with Corea is a commercial necessity. Corea is the Japanese granary, the outlet for Japanese

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colonization, and the chosen and zealously exploited field for Japanese industrial expansion. Nowhere in the world is the Japanese stake so heavy. The overwhelming bulk of the banks, railways, shipping, domestic trade and financial interests of the Hermit Kingdom is in Japanese hands. Sentimental and historical bonds re-enforce the more tangible ties of commerce and emigration. But above and beyond them all is the dominating influence of strategy. A foreign Power established on the Corean peninsula would be a permanent and intolerable menace to Japanese security. Russia in Corea, it has often and truly been said, could starve or strangle Japan, or do both at will. The "arrow pointed at Japan's heart," fitted in a Russian bowstring and held by a Russian hand, would by its mere possibilities paralyze Japan's initiative, bankrupt her with the necessity of guarding against such a result, and reduce the Mikado to an ignoble vassalage. Ever since the new Japan came to a sense of its position and power, there has on this matter been but one determination—Corea must be either independent or Japanese. In literal and solemn truth, this is felt to be an issue of life or death. "Corea," said an eminent Japanese statesman, "must be Russian or Japanese, and to make it the latter every one of Japan's two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers will die, if need be, to achieve this victory for his Emperor, this act of international justice, this guarantee of the safety of the Japanese nation. And, after our soldiers are gone, the nation itself—man, woman and child—will battle, forty millions of us, till the last yen is gone and the last life yielded. It is with us no statesman's policy; it is with us the settled purpose and the burning passion of a people."

Here, obviously, is one of those primal and inexorable forces that cannot be guided, that can scarcely be restrained, by any statesmanship. And has there not for years been advancing from the opposite direction a force equally instinctive, equally uncontrollable? No one who has studied the history and character of Russian expansion over Northern Asia—as irrepressible, spontaneous, almost unconscious in its beginnings as the instinct which drove the English to plant their colonies by every sea—will hesitate long for an answer. If, through this movement, one can detect the thread of any high and deliberate political motive, it is the legitimate one of finding an outlet to the water. What limits can be set to its colossal march? The only frontier, it has long

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been agreed, that Russia will recognize is the frontier imposed by nature or a stronger Power. The absorption of Corea was to Russia simply the next, and in that direction the last, stride onward in her imperial progress. And what instinct prompted, policy confirmed. The Corean peninsula is a wedge driven in between Vladivostock and Port Arthur. Without the control of either shore of the Straits, Russia could not feel herself strategically secure, and all the impulse of her past and the commanding necessities of the present must finally have tempted her to secure the essential connecting link. This, of course, is not to claim that Corea was or could be a matter of the paramount necessity to Russia that it always must be to Japan. But the possession of it would be an asset of such extraordinary importance, the loss of it would be a disadvantage so decisive and permanent in its character, that any Power in Russia's situation would be justified in fighting for Corea if there were a reasonable prospect of success. The domination of the Peninsula by Japan would tragically duplicate for Russia in the Far East the very dangers which threaten her from England in the Persian Gulf and from Germany in the Baltic. Indeed, it would do more. It would not only decide against her the naval supremacy of the Pacific, but it would install on the flank of her sole line of communication, the Manchurian railway, a resolute and highly organized enemy. And this, so far as it goes, is the true answer to those light-hearted solutions of the Russo-Japanese difficulties that were based upon handing over Manchuria to Russia and Corea to Japan. Such a solution might have been a postponement, but it could not have been a settlement. Russia could not permanently acquiesce in the absorption of Corea by Japan without surrendering for good and all the freedom of her outlet on the Pacific. Japan could as little tolerate a perpetual occupation of Manchuria by the Russians without a jeopardy to her future position in Corea as certain and formidable as it is now veiled and inchoate. Russia, again, was peremptorily bound to decline to withdraw from Manchuria unless she was prepared to retire altogether from the Far East, to sacrifice the Manchurian railway. Fundamentally, the ultimate domination or guardianship of China is the stake at issue between Russia and Japan, and in the game that has been played for it Manchuria has been one counter among many. With a prize so vast and vital, with in-

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terests clashing with such deadly and irreconcilable antagonism, it were of little utility to follow the course of the negotiations, to attempt to apportion the blame for the resultant issue in war. On the hypothesis, neither Russia nor Japan is to blame at all. Each followed the route prescribed by national interests, and the routes led to a point where retreat was out of the question.

But, if it was beyond the capacity of even the most skilled diplomacy altogether to avert war, the responsibility for bringing war on at this particular moment must largely rest with Great Britain. But for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance the Far East might have remained at peace for another decade and more. The average opinion of the world which, overriding official protestations, persisted in seeing in that Alliance a menace to Russia and an encouragement to Japan to fight Russia, was undoubtedly correct. To deny that the Alliance hurried on the crisis and almost guaranteed its development before the allotted five years were past, is to deny that the support of the greatest naval Power in the world, the certainty that any such coalition as stepped in after the Chinese war to rob Japan of the fruits of victory was forestalled and made impossible, and the isolation of Russia, had any weight at all in the councils of Tokyo. The mere fact of the Treaty made it certain that Japan would seize the first favorable opportunity to strike home, and no amount of sophistication can really acquit Lord Lansdowne of having, as it were, fixed a time-limit within which the inevitable should come to pass. That the bulk of public opinion in England supported the Alliance at the time of its formation, and supports it now, is, I think, beyond question. But it is also clear that English statesmen have taken all too little trouble to educate the nation in the immediate responsibilities that the Alliance lays upon Great Britain and in the possibilities that may accrue from it. The approval with which the Treaty was hailed was a dangerously uninstructed approval. After several years of singularly unstable and inefficient diplomacy in the Far East, resulting in a progressive diminution of British prestige, it was an immense relief to find that the British Government had at last made up its mind and definitely committed itself. Public opinion was perhaps less concerned with the specific terms and obligations of the Alliance than with the fact that British diplomacy was henceforward to pursue a fixed and deliberate course. The popular

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enthusiasm for Japan, then, as now, a strong and pervasive sentiment among all classes in England, contributed its quota, and it was re-enforced by the equally strong and pervasive antipathy to Russia. No one can doubt that in this war the Japanese have the overwhelming sympathy of England at their backs. This sympathy is accompanied by a national determination to live up to the obligations of the Alliance. England profoundly believes in the capacity of Japan to thrash Russia; and she has no doubt that her own share in the conflict will be confined to the strict neutrality agreed upon in Article II. of the Alliance. I think it no way an exaggeration to say that the possibility of England's being dragged into the war has yet scarcely occurred to popular opinion. The expression of pro-Japanese sentiment has been consequently almost unrestrained.

Nevertheless, there have always been those who objected to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, not only on principle but on its specific demerits. Their objections were based, first of all, on the proposition that a world-wide Empire like the British, liable at any moment to find itself at issue with one or more first-class Powers over questions of vital moment, could only be safely conducted by declining to be placed in the position where an ally could decide which of two questions was the more important to British interests. Secondly, it was urged that the Alliance was unequal, that the integrity of China and Corea, though important, was not vital to Great Britain in the sense in which it was vital to Japan, and that British policy wherever England and Russia were in conflict was placed at the mercy of Japan. Thirdly, it was urged that the Alliance was, in effect, a direct blow to Russia, officially stopped the movement towards an Anglo-Russian understanding, imperilled English relations with France, and played into the hands of Germany. Finally, it was objected that the Alliance was unnecessary, that the integrity of China was in no real danger, that Russia's position in Manchuria was essentially similar to that of England in Egypt, and that the maintenance of Japanese power could have been safeguarded by naval guarantees protecting each party from the attack of a coalition. "An exchange of naval guarantees upon equal terms for all Asiatic purposes," said an English writer at the time, "would have been, under all the circumstances, necessary and advisable. To make an engagement which, if we plunge below its verbiage to its prac-

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tical meaning, binds us to back the continental expansion of Japan and to resist the effective occupation on the part of Russia of the territory traversed by the vital extremity of the Siberian Railway, this is what was not advisable and was not necessary." The force of these considerations is, I think, manifest. They did not, nor do they now, enter to any appreciable extent into popular calculations. From the English masses, always lamentably indifferent to foreign affairs and with little or no sense of the unity of external policy, anything like a reasoned appreciation of England's position is not to be looked for. The Government, face to face with a war which it was presumably one of the objects of the Alliance to avert, has lost some of its optimism, but appears otherwise unmoved. There remains, however, a small but authoritative body of opinion which, while hoping for the best, sees in the present dilemma the confirmation of its worst fears, and is harassed by the suspicion that the Government and country are far from realizing the magnitude of the perils that surround them.

To what does England stand committed? There is no misunderstanding the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The essential articles in the Agreement are Articles II. and III. By Article II. it is provided that, if either Great Britain or Japan becomes involved in war with another Power, the other will maintain a strict neutrality and use its efforts to prevent other Powers from joining in hostilities against its ally. Should any other Power or Powers join in hostilities against that ally, the other High Contracting Party is bound by Article III. to come to its assistance, to conduct the war in common and to make peace in mutual agreement with it. Lord Lansdowne, in his covering despatch to the British Minister in Tokyo, explained, with admirable clearness, that that part of the Agreement "which renders either of the High Contracting Parties liable to be called upon by the other for assistance, can operate only when one of the allies has found himself obliged to go to war in defence of interests which are common to both, when the circumstances in which he has taken this step are such as to establish that the quarrel has not been of his own seeking, and when, being engaged in his own defence, he finds himself threatened, not by a single Power, but by a hostile coalition." On the letter of the Treaty, therefore, there can be no doubt of England's duty in the present

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stage of the war. It is simply that of keeping the course clear, and of doing all it can by diplomacy to prevent France from coming to Russia's assistance. At first sight, no obligation could well seem easier to carry out. With France, as with England, the Far-Eastern question, at all events in its immediate phase, is a secondary interest. Moreover, England and France are at this moment enjoying a period of almost halcyon amity. The relations between France and England began automatically to improve when the explosion of anger with which England greeted the Anglo-German compact in Venezuela made it clear that the British people were set on cutting loose from German influences. And the improvement has continued without any factitious or outside assistance. On both sides of the Channel there has been a disposition on the part of average men to examine the foundations of their disputes, and to see whether, after all, there is so much in them as they have been pretending. A course of quiet reflection, the absence of all immediately pressing differences, and the visits between President Loubet and King Edward, have sensibly made for an exchange of juster estimates. The old suspiciousness has now, on the English side completely, and on the French, too, very largely, withered away. The relations between England and France, in short, are at this moment precisely as every sensible Englishman and every sensible Frenchman would have them; and to both nations the change in the point of view and the new temper in which they approach their mutual difficulties are political assets of the very first order.

France is the ally of Russia and England the ally of Japan, but neither Power is constrained, either by the letter or the spirit of its agreements, to take up arms. If the one refrains, the other will refrain. The solution, therefore, is easy on the surface. Let France and England agree to remain neutral; let each present a silent immobility; let each, as it were, check the other. It is a solution so simple, sensible and sufficient that one immediately begins to suspect it. Politics, international politics especially, are not quite so mathematical and adjustable as all that. The great strength of this solution is that it plainly restricts the area of warfare and preserves peace in Europe; its great error is that it depends on the statics and not the dynamics of the situation, that it presupposes in the Far East a perpetuity of indecisiveness, and overlooks the possibility, nay the certainty,

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of the derangement of victory. Before the fortune of war has inclined overwhelmingly to either side, it needs no great self-restraint for England and France to watch the conflict with folded arms. But how will it be when either Russia or Japan has gained an indisputable mastery? Can France afford to stand by and see Russia beaten? Can England afford to stand by and see Japan crushed? At the moment when one or the other of these contingencies is an actual fact, the appeal to the strict letter of the Treaty will have lost its force. Other influences will then come into play, influences of permanent politics, of national necessities, perhaps of uncontrollable popular pressure, certainly of national pride and loyalty; and the question that underlies this Russo-Japanese conflict is whether these influences will be powerful enough to override the formal and prudential policy prescribed by a merely literal reading of Treaty obligations.

It is worth remembering, to take the French case first, that the publication of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement was swiftly followed by a Franco-Russian declaration of common purposes in the Far East:—

> "Being obliged to take into consideration the possible eventuality either of aggressive action on the part of a third Power (*i. e.*, Japan), or fresh troubles in China calling in question the integrity and the free development of China, becoming a menace to their own interests, the two Allied Governments reserve to themselves the right to concert in such case means for assuring their protection."

This declaration, if it meant anything, meant that France and Russia had agreed to stand together, and that the Dual Alliance was no less operative on the Gulf of Pechili than on the frontiers of Alsace-Lorraine. Will its obligations, not merely its written and immediate obligations, but those that are injected into it by circumstances, be wholly fulfilled if France confines herself to checkmating England? Will not a series of Russian reverses, preluding a final defeat, lay upon France an irresistible compulsion to positive action? The French have a profound interest in Russia's success or failure and a national desire to see her win. It is said that in France the Dual Alliance has lost something of its old popularity, that the nation as a whole, and the provinces especially, have chilled towards it, and that only the boulevards retain the enthusiasm of the pre-Fashoda days. There is some truth in that, but not much. In spite of the progressive weaken-

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ing of the Triple Alliance and the growing cordiality towards Italy and England, the Dual Alliance remains the corner-stone of French foreign policy. Its alleged one-sidedness is more discussed abroad than in France. The enormous Russian loans raised on the Bourse, and the investments of the French middle classes in Russian industrials, have somewhat blinded the world to an appreciation of the invaluable benefits France has derived from her share in the partnership. Those benefits might all be summed up in a word, the word that Pitt used to crystallize the one object that England aimed at in hunting down Napoleon—"security." France is secure, and not only France but the French Republic. The Alliance removed, once and for all, the charge of political dowdiness which its enemies were continually bringing against the Republic. The moral effect of treating on equal terms with the greatest Power in Europe was worth almost anything to the nervous, sensitive, self-conscious temperament of the French. The Alliance has strengthened internal, and guaranteed external, peace. It has lifted the awful horror of invasion, the sickening sense of helplessness, under the blight of which the nation, a bare fifteen or twenty years ago, was rebuilding itself as from nothing. No other political combination could give France what the Dual Alliance has given her, and the consciousness of this, though it may be concealed, is never really absent from the French mind. In the event of a Russian defeat, there would unquestionably be a strong and sustained movement throughout France against the "betrayal" of her ally. The position of a French Government is never a very strong one; and it would have to face not only the popular fear that if France abandoned Russia in the Far East, Russia might hereafter abandon France in Europe, not only the unescapable conviction that a Russian collapse must react on the fortunes of France and by so much diminish her security, not only the attacks of the Nationalist Opposition who see in war their last chance of ousting the present *régime,* but also the danger that Germany might come to Russia's assistance while France was hesitating, and so fatally undermine the vitality of the Dual Alliance. It is, indeed, an open question whether a secret agreement does not already exist between Germany and Russia, pledging the former, in return for some commercial and territorial concessions, to help the latter to the utmost limits compatible with a formal show of

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neutrality. If such an agreement exists, the position of the French Government would be so hazardous, and the force of popular opinion would be so strong, as to make a decisive rally to the Russian side more than probable. No one who soberly estimates the factors I have enumerated and who further considers the possibility, even though it may be only a remote one, that China, fired by Japan's success, may combine with her against the common foe, will be rash enough to assert that the neutrality of France is secured beyond all doubt or chance.

On the other hand, supposing that the war ends or threatens to end in a Japanese defeat, will it be possible for England to remain a passive spectator of an event that would shake her influence, and still more her prestige, from one end of Asia to the other? Is not the maintenance of the power of Japan a British interest? Is there, indeed, any British interest in the Far East stronger than this? Mr. Balfour declared that Great Britain could not permit the destruction of Japan under any circumstances. The Alliance did no more than publicly commit her to a policy already prescribed by the elements of Far-Eastern politics. It added nothing to the argumentative strength of that policy, but it immensely increased the necessity of seeing that it did not fail. British influence, not merely in China but throughout her Asiatic dominions, could never recover the fatal loss of prestige that would follow a failure to spring full-armed to the side of her ally if the need arose. Indeed, there are Englishmen to whom already this is so axiomatic that they have even urged the Government to take up arms at once, and brave the risk of French intervention, sooner than lose the strategic advantage of being able to take the offensive. The country, it is true, has not yet thought out what is to happen if Japan is palpably worsted, and I am not sure that the Government has. But it may be safely prophesied that if and when the question becomes critical, it will be solved in the only way compatible with British honor and British interests. Therein lurks the terrible danger of this strange and momentous conflict to the peace of Europe. The neutrality of France, in the event of a Russian defeat, is at the best a dubious choice between distasteful alternatives. England's neutrality depends on the sea-power of Japan.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

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AMERICAN COMMERCIAL UNION.

BY WHARTON BARKER.

THERE are times in the histories of nations when they are prone to abandon the wealth at their own feet to exploit the resources of other peoples; when, dropping thought of the possibilities of trade expansion on natural lines at their own doors, they bend their energies and make national sacrifice to extend their trade with distant countries. Around such trade, especially when won by war and bloody strife, there gathers a glamour that leads people to unduly magnify its importance, and, appealing to their commercial spirit, tempts them on to further territorial expansion as a means to trade expansion, while quite disqualifying them to stop and ask themselves if the possible profit is worth the cost of the enterprise. If they could strip the distant trade of its glamour, and dispassionately weigh it against that which has been overlooked at home, the wealth that has been cast aside undeveloped against that which has been gained from afar, I am sure they would find that they were not pursuing the direct path to their enrichment and happiness and national greatness.

Washington proclaimed the true policy for America. The Monroe Doctrine advanced that policy. Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt, unfortunately following British ideals, have put upon us the Philippines, and, in my judgment, forced the American people into a false position in the Far East. We made war upon the people of the Philippines to extend our markets for manufactured goods. We forced upon the Chinese a commercial treaty for the same purposes. We hold the Philippines as a base of operations against China and for no other purpose.

I have been in the Far East, and I believe I understand the Chinese question better than do most of my fellow citizens. We are told by those who act under impulse of the commercial spirit

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that, unless we force upon the Chinese commercial treaties favorable to us, the possibilities of trade expansion in China will be closed to us. This idea is more of a bugbear than anything else. But, suppose we grant that to keep open the markets of China we must join Britain and Japan in a display of naval and military strength by sending a powerful fleet to Chinese waters, the question arises: Is it worth our while? And, as the gain to be had is purely commercial, we must consider this question in a purely commercial light. When we consider that China cannot pay in money for the foreign goods her people buy, but must pay for them with goods manufactured by her cheap labor, we must answer that the trade is not advantageous, that it is not worth having. The British Government urges the Government of the United States to foster this trade because of a desire to have the cooperation of this country in the Far East. No consideration would be given to this British desire if the Chinese conditions were understood by the President and Secretary Hay, and there is no opposition from the people of this country to the policy we are pursuing, because they are ignorant of the facts. All the trade with China that is worth having, we shall have without forcing upon the Chinese objectionable treaties. The products we can afford to sell to the Chinese they will purchase, because they need them. In my judgment, there is little to be looked for in the direction of finding increased and sustained markets for our products in China, for there is little doubt that the Chinese will supply their own needs as the consumptive power of the people grows.

So, territorial expansion or no territorial expansion, we need not count on permanently extending our exports to China. We produce nothing that China does not or cannot produce, not even petroleum; and, on her part, she can produce little that we do or may want, save silk and tea. And, as both countries are blessed with unsurpassed natural resources, the people of each country can, in the natural order of things, make that which they want at less expense than it would cost either to import from the other. Consequently, there is no room for a great and advantageous trade to spring up between them. True, because of a lower scale of living, the Chinese may produce goods for a smaller money cost than we can; but for us to purchase such goods would be simply to reduce our own people to the Chinese level; importation of such goods, therefore, we cannot permit if we would have regard to our

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own interests. I may add that, not buying more largely from China, China cannot buy more largely from us.

There are countries that we may rightly expect to buy more of our products, and those are the countries which supply products of a kind we do not and cannot profitably produce and which we must therefore import; and these are countries lying in different latitudes from our own. To this requirement of different latitude, I may add the requirement of the same general longitude. This is for the reason that it is cheaper to buy from near markets than from remote markets, cheaper to buy from the West Indies lying at our doors than from the East Indies, cheaper to buy our coffee from Brazil than from Java, the tropical products we consume from Cuba than from the Philippines—and it is cheaper, however much lower may be the money cost of producing in the Philippines, in Java, in China, than in the West Indies or in South America. When natural conditions of production are equal, when the cost of producing in the West and East Indies is the same, while the cost of transportation to our markets is obviously less from the West Indies than from the East, it is to our interest to buy from our neighbors. If we buy under such conditions from the Far East, we simply waste labor in transportation; and even if we fill our needs at less money outlay we by the same act restrict the markets for our products, force down the price of what our own people make, and thus cheapen labor in our country, with the result that nothing is gained, something lost.

What we need to extend our foreign trade in profitable directions is not territorial expansion, but a Customs Union with all the American nations. Outside of trade in Manila hemp, we can only expand our trade with the Philippines at the expense of the trade which by its nature must be most advantageous to us, that is, trade with the West Indies, Mexico, Central and South-American countries; and, therefore, artificial stimulus to trade with the Philippines ought to be discontinued. We can with ease increase the consumptive power of our own people by just laws. Trade will increase greatly between American nations working under one economic system such as I suggest, and the consumptive power of all will increase as the productive power increases.

I have said that, of all our foreign trade, that which it is most worth our while to cultivate is the trade with the countries lying to the south of us. In the very nature of things this must be so,

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for they are situated in different climes and their products are of different kinds from ours. Much that they produce we cannot produce. Such products we must buy or go without; and, as we have to buy them, it stands to reason that it is to our advantage to buy them from the nearest market; for, surely, it cannot be to our advantage to bring them six or ten thousand miles when they can be gotten from lands that are distant from our shores only from a few hundred to three thousand miles. The importing merchant, of course, buys where he can buy cheapest, but it is not always to the advantage of a country to buy in the cheapest markets; for buying in the cheapest markets when their wares are cheapest simply because they are made by cheapest labor, amounts to pauperizing one's self. There must be two sides to trade, a selling as well as a buying. And a buying from a land of cheapest men means a selling to such land, selling upon such cheap-men basis. If we buy the greater share of our imports of tropical goods from the East Indies, we must buy a lesser share from the West Indies and South America. And if we buy less from Cuba, Porto Rico and South America, there must come a piling up of products in those countries seeking for an outlet, a consequent fall in prices and a general impoverishment of the peoples of those countries. Receiving smaller returns for their products, their demands for our products must be restricted. Consequently, a natural outlet for the products of our farms and factories would be curtailed, and an increase in outlet to a like extent cannot be hoped for among the poorer peoples of the Far East. So our products would pile up on our markets, and the resulting pressure for sale would force down prices here at home. At last, at some reduced price level, a market would be found, but in finding such market, we would pauperize our own people.

The shorter the distance that we have to bring foreign purchases, the smaller will be the cost of transportation; and, hence, the nearer will our people come in that case, as consumers, to getting such products at the prices the producers receive. It is for this very reason that the home market is preferable to a foreign market, that it is to our advantage to buy what we can of ourselves. To avail ourselves of the cheapness of foreign goods, when such cheapness is the result of cheap labor, is but to entail loss upon ourselves. When any other people have a natural advantage over us, in the production of some article, more than equal to the cost of

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transportation, it is of course to our advantage to buy that article in that foreign market, not to keep it out by tariff duties and strive to produce it ourselves. When there are several lands equally enjoying such natural advantage over us, then it is manifestly to our advantage to buy in the nearest of these lands. Now, nearly all the products that we cannot now produce on terms of equality with all the world, so far as natural conditions favorable to production are concerned, are tropical products; and they are, moreover, products for the production of which the conditions are as favorable in the countries lying to the south of us as anywhere on the globe; consequently, from these countries, as the nearest to us, we should buy. Further, there are many things which we produce but which tropical countries cannot produce to advantage. It is to their advantage, therefore, to buy such products from us in exchange for the peculiar products of the tropics.

Accordingly, between the United States and the countries and islands to the south there exist all the elements for a mutually advantageous trade, a trade more advantageous for all than any other foreign trade can possibly be to any of them. Therefore, we should encourage this trade to the extent of establishing a Commercial Union that would secure absolute free trade between all the countries of the Western Hemisphere and give a common tariff to all. Of course, such extension of a common tariff would greatly derange the revenue systems of all the countries concerned, and oblige them all to look up new sources of revenue. But I would have no regrets, and I would be pleased to see a system of direct taxation established, a system that would tax property and not men. Tariffs, being levied on consumption, partake of the nature of *per capita* taxes, and as such are inequitable. If duties are imposed for the protection of home industries, and not for revenue, they should be made so high that imports would not be possible and, of course, no revenue result. There would be needed an International American Bank, or a system of banks, to be operated under an American Commercial Union, to reduce the cost of exchanges. It should be remembered, however, that it is trade that makes exchange, that it is the export of merchandise that enables the producers of one country to draw upon the people of other countries. They can draw only for so much as they may sell their goods for. An International American Bank should have its main offices in New York, and branches

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in other cities of the United States, and in cities of all the countries to the south of us, within the American Zollverein.

But this is not the place to discuss a bank and its functions, or a tax system. Nothing will free the people of the Western Hemisphere from a certain dependence upon Great Britain and Germany except a common economic policy. As long as we import from the countries to the south of us more than we export to them; so long as we export to Great Britain more than we import therefrom; so long as London runs up debt against South America faster than South America through exportation of her products to Great Britain runs up an offset; just so long must we buy exchange on London to make payments in South America. The present annual balance of trade between South America and the United States is about $110,000,000 against the United States. The people of all the Americas should wake up to the disadvantage of triangular exchange, they should see that Great Britain and Germany profit greatly, they should see what saving would result from direct trade. Under an American Commercial Union, American ships would have an advantage over British and German ships, because the American trade would be secured to ships under the flags of the nations in the Union. The commercial advantages to the people of the United States from an American Commercial Union would be no greater than would be the commercial advantages to the people of the countries to the south of us; and the political advantages to the Central and South-American nations would be great, for they would be saved from the aggressions of Great Britain and Germany, often the busy-bodies who stir up rebellion in the South-American states. Such a Commercial Union as I propose does not contemplate a political union. In fact, I consider that political union would be both unwise and impossible.

Men who give only little attention to the study of public questions and those who live only in the present will, of course, declare that such a Customs Union is Utopian, and as such hardly worth serious consideration. The Cuban situation, however, makes it a live question; and America cannot, without permanent loss, set aside the opportunity to declare a general commercial policy, that would be as permanent and as far-reaching as the political policy known as the Monroe Doctrine. Unless this great step is taken at this time, the United States must soon meet Brit-

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ish and German aggression with naval and military force, or give up the great position heretofore held in American affairs.

Into such union I would gladly welcome the Dominion of Canada. I will begin discussion of Canadian relations by quotations from letters exchanged between Sir Wilfrid Laurier and myself in October last. On the 9th of that month I wrote to the Canadian Premier:

"You probably remember that in 1879--1880, when Canada pressed a Reciprocity Treaty upon the United States, not discouraged by the lot of the treaty submitted by General Grant to the Senate, the policy was opposed, and no doubt defeated, by those in this country who believed Commercial Union the only proper solution of the Canadian-American trade question. I assume you know that General Garfield was committed to a broad policy of American Commercial Union, and that I had brought him to this view. In those days, Sir John Macdonald on the one side and Mr. Mackenzie on the other, in the Canadian Parliament, and many other Canadians, had correspondence with me. The purpose of this letter is to learn, as far as it is proper for me to learn, from you, whether Canada would look with favor upon a proposal from the United States for the establishment of a permanent Commercial Union,—common tariff against outside countries and absolute free trade within the Union,—the customs revenue to be divided in an equitable way. I am of the opinion the United States should, now, I may say must now, offer such a union, economic of course only and not political, to Canada, to Cuba, to Mexico and to all other American nations, and I propose to present the situation in some public way, and to force the proposal upon Congress and the country before the next Presidential election."

To this Sir Wilfrid Laurier answered on October 13th:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 9th instant. In my estimation, a movement, such as you suggest, would not meet with any favor in Canada and, personally, I would be opposed to it. You are aware that the Liberal party, some few years ago, carried on a campaign in favor of a policy of unrestricted reciprocity between Canada and the United States. You are likewise aware that our efforts in that direction were received with no sympathy in your country. For my part, I valued very highly the importance of the American market for Canadian products; but, failing to make an impression in that quarter, we directed our efforts elsewhere, and I am glad to say that they have been successful beyond all expectations. That movement in favor of unrestricted reciprocity had its '*raison d'être*' some twelve years ago; in the present conditions of our trade, its '*raison d'être*' has ceased to exist."

So, it appears, the Laurier Government will oppose Commercial Union of Canada and the United States, and wait for relief from

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a position of isolation for the creation of the Chamberlain British Empire Zollverein. I quote from a distinguished Canadian Liberal who writes me under date of October 14th last, that the other side of the question may be heard. He says:

"You are right in saying that the question of commercial relations, which we used to discuss years ago, has now become practical, thanks to Joe Chamberlain, who, I expect, will find that he has set more things going than he intended. Now, if ever, is the time for action, and I am glad to hear that you are going to take up your pen again. Here we have not got beyond reciprocity between Canada and the United States. We have elements of course opposed to Reciprocity here—our protected manufacturers, our violent anti-American party which cherishes the traditions of the U. E. Loyalists, and politicians who in Reciprocity or Commercial Union see danger to their political separatism, though nothing of the kind followed on the Elgin Reciprocity Treaty. So far as the Canadian people are concerned, we feel pretty confident that a fair and liberal proposal would make its way."

The question of our commercial relations with the Dominion of Canada has long been troublesome, and often one of serious danger. I opposed ratification of the Grant Treaty of Reciprocity in 1874, and worked against all similar treaties that have been proposed; and, during these thirty years, I have urged Commercial Union upon both the Washington and Ottawa Governments as the only proper solution of the question. From the standpoint of the protectionist, there is no reason for the imposition of tariff duties on importations from Canada into the United States. The situation would be mutually advantageous, if there were no customs line to hinder the interchange of commodities between the two countries. Both peoples would gain from such interchange, and gain equally as buyers and as sellers. Some will ask, Why make a permanent Commercial Union, why not make a reciprocity treaty binding for ten years, and thus see how the arrangement works? One reason is that reciprocity, as suggested time and again for thirty years, rests on the idea that in the exchange of commodities it is the seller alone who profits; that, consequently, the interests of buyer and seller are not mutual; that by increasing our purchases from Canada we must lose, and that by increasing our sales we must gain; that, *per se,* the interests of Canada are just the opposite of ours; and that, therefore, a reciprocity treaty must be the result of a dicker, in which each

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party thereto strives to get, and believes it has got, the best of the other, gained more by extending the markets for its goods than it has lost by opening its own markets. Clearly, a reciprocity arrangement approached upon this mistaken basis cannot be mutually satisfactory. If it works as expected, evidently one people must lose what the other gains; and in such trade there is obviously no net gain, no profit in the exchange of commodities, and it would be better if such exchange did not take place. Therefore, I have no patience with those who put forth so-called reciprocity propositions which are urged in the belief that, by the acceptance of such propositions, they would get the best of their neighbors, but which can only find acceptance if those neighbors are under the contrary belief. There is only one true way for a country to get rich and prosper, and that is by producing wealth, not by getting the best of its neighbors in trade. Yet the latter notion is held by most of the advocates of Canadian reciprocity, and it is with that absurd idea that they approach the building of a reciprocity treaty. It is petty treatment of great interests. The truth is, the people of the United States and the people of Canada have much to gain by buying and selling more extensively from and to each other, and nothing to lose; therefore, the customs line between them should be abolished at once. This is also true of the relations of the peoples of Canada and of Cuba; so the way is open for a Commercial Union between the three countries,—the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Cuba.

Congress should prepare a plan for such an American Commercial Union as I suggest, and submit it to the people of the United States for ratification at the next general election. When approved by the vote of the people of the United States, the proposal should be made in formal way to Cuba, to the Dominion of Canada, and to other American nations.

It is not out of order for me to say that President Hayes and I talked often and earnestly of Commercial Union of all the Americas, and that, after the return of the special Commission he sent to South America, he was a believer in this policy. He gave support to those who urged and brought about the nomination of General Garfield for President, largely because he knew that General Garfield was committed to the settlement of all questions in dispute between the United States and the Dominion of Canada by the establishment of a Commercial Union between the two

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countries, common tariff against all nations outside the Union, free trade between the two countries and fair distribution of the customs revenues between them. The letter I quote from him is evidence that he held this view as late as April, 1887. He held it at the time of his death.

"FREMONT, OHIO, *12th April, 1887.*

"*Mr. Wharton Barker,*

"MY DEAR SIR,—Thanks for the Canadian article. Looking forward with confidence to the unification of all English-speaking people on this continent under one government, my opinions on all measures touching Canadian affairs are formed with respect to their bearing on this result. I hope to meet you. With all respect,

"Sincerely,

"R. B. HAYES."

It is not necessary for me to discuss now my part in the nomination and election of General Garfield to the Presidency in 1880, but I may quote from an article on "Commercial Union," which appeared in "The Fortnightly Review" of May, 1881:

"Mr. George Anderson, M. P., stated in an article contributed to the 'Contemporary Review' a few months ago, that he had been informed on reliable authority that certain American statesmen of no mean influence were about to move in the matter of Canada, and to make it a paramount feature in the policy of the Garfield Administration. Mr. Anderson further stated that he had before him two published letters, written by Mr. Wharton Barker, an eminent banker and politician in Philadelphia, the chief supporter of Mr. Garfield as President, one of which was addressed to Mr. Garfield prior to his election, and the other to the late Senator Brown, of Toronto. The subject of these letters was what has been termed Commercial Union between the United States and Canada."

General Garfield and Mr. Blaine, after brief discussion in April, 1881, decided to advocate Commercial Union of all the American Nations and American Dependencies of European Nations. If General Garfield had lived, a great policy of American Commercial Union would, I am sure, have been established twenty years ago, and the position of America would be much stronger now than it is. Mr. Blaine hesitated, after the death of General Garfield, to urge the larger policy, and fell back upon a demand for reciprocal trade set up through reciprocity treaties.

WHARTON BARKER.

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CENTENNIAL OF THE BRITISH BIBLE SOCIETY.

BY D. C. GILMAN, LL.D., PRESIDENT OF THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTION.

THE approaching centennial of the British and Foreign Bible Society is to be celebrated throughout the British Empire by assemblies, sermons, addresses and publications well fitted to show the hold which the Bible has upon English-speaking people. It is announced that the King and Queen will attend a special service in the Cathedral of St. Paul's, when the Archbishop of Canterbury will deliver a sermon commemorative of the work. By sympathetic gatherings, the anniversary will be observed in the United States, and meetings will be held in Washington, New York, and many other cities. Sunday, March 6th, is to be called "Bible Sunday." It is expected that the President of the United States will attend a Union Meeting in the old St. John's Church in the national capital. Under these suggestive and auspicious circumstances, a brief review will now be given of the origin and progress of the British and the American Bible Societies, in order to bring before the minds of the present generation some notion of the marvellous influences which have proceeded from organizations ordinarily so quiet and undemonstrative before the public that their methods and achievements are not observed, or, if observed, are regarded as matters of course devoid of special interest, except to their managers.

Let us begin with the origin of what is often spoken of as the parent society.

On Wednesday, the seventh of March, 1804, a company of influential gentlemen of London assembled in the London Tavern, and proceeded to organize the British and Foreign Bible Society. About three hundred persons were present. The preliminary meetings had been informal and private. According to the historian of the Society, its formation was accidental rather than

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premeditated. Several kindred associations were already in existence,—among them, the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which was established in 1698, and the half as venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which was formed in 1701. There was also an unobtrusive agency called "The Bible Society," which restricted its work to soldiers and seamen, and afterward changed its name to "The Naval and Military Bible Society." For many years the difficulty of procuring Bibles in the Welsh language had been brought to the attention of the religious people of London, and this had led many thoughtful persons to the conclusion that other parts of the Empire, and probably other parts of Christendom, were equally deficient. At length the Rev. Joseph Hughes, afterward one of the Secretaries, suggested a Bible Society "for the world," and in an elaborate essay discussed its possible services. This essay, presented in May, 1803 (so says the historian, the Rev. George Brown), contained the rudiments of the future society, was widely circulated, and prepared the way for further proceedings. The impression thus produced led to a call for the public meeting just mentioned, when a series of resolutions, moved by the Rev. John Owen, and embodying the name and general form and constitution of the Society, were adopted, "with unanimous demonstrations of cordiality and joy." So reads the official record. Most of the names of the participants in this meeting are no longer remembered; but the Chairman, Granville Sharp, is still held in distinction by those who recall his long-continued and successful efforts to secure the abolition of the slave trade, put forth in England at the close of the eighteenth century.

Some two months later, another meeting was held in the same place and under the same auspices as that already described, and here the suggestive and persuasive influence of William Wilberforce, the eloquent orator, statesman and philanthropist, was manifest. Among his associates, in the original committee then selected, were Thomas Babington, Charles Grant, Zachary Macaulay, Alexander Maitland, Granville Sharp, James Stephen, and others less known. Henry Thornton, the rich and generous merchant, an acknowledged authority on financial questions, consented to act as Treasurer. Lord Teignmouth (John Shore) was chosen President, and a better selection could not have been made.

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He had won distinction as an administrator in India, and was then, at the age of sixty-two, a resident of London, a man of means, leisure, scholarship, influence and acquaintance with other lands. The earliest reports of the new Bible Society were written by him. In the world of letters he is well known as the biographer of Sir William Jones, the illustrious orientalist. Until his death, twenty years later, Teignmouth held the presidency, giving to it his constant attention, and steering the Society through many conflicting opinions. Among the conclusions reached on controverted points may be named the exclusion of the Apocrypha from the English Bibles published by the Society, and the admission of non-trinitarians to the privilege of membership. No little persuasion was needed in order to overcome the opposition of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, voiced by Christopher Wordsworth, who thought that its prerogatives were imperilled.

Associated with Lord Teignmouth as President, the Bishops of Durham, London, Salisbury and St. David's were made Vice-Presidents, and several eminent laymen, William Wilberforce, Charles Grant, Vice-Admiral Gambier and Sir William Pepperell, completed the list.

As these various names have been mentioned, the reader who is familiar with the lives of those rare men who constituted what is known as "the Clapham sect," will not have failed to notice how much they had to do with the origin of the Bible Society. Many readers will recall Trevelyan's reference to Clapham in his life of Macaulay. He speaks of the pleasant mansion of Lord Teignmouth, the cradle of the Bible Society, now turned into a convent of monks; and he thinks that a training which produced Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, Sir James Stephen, Charles and Robert Grant and Lord Macaulay, completely answers the derogatory remarks that are found in the early chapters of "The Newcomes."

The earliest attempt of the new association to translate any part of the Bible into a foreign tongue was to provide a portion of the Scriptures for the American Indians. The decision was reached to translate the gospel of St. Mark into Mohawk, and a Mohawk chief, with the unmanageable name Tyonenhokarawen or Tryoninhokaraven, passed several weeks under Lord Teignmouth's roof, at Clapham, engaged in the work. Sometimes, we are told, he appeared, clad in his war dress, at the table of his

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host, and performed for the entertainment of the visitors the war dance of his tribe, tomahawk in hand. It is a laughable picture: grave and reverend men of affairs, gathered around a dinner-table for a most serious discussion, which is enlivened by a red man robed in skins, hopping up and down, brandishing the rude weapon of his tribe. This same warrior took the part of the English in the war of 1812, and gave up his unpronounceable patronymic of seven syllables for the simple name of Major John Norton, by which he was known in the army.

Looking back at the proceedings of the initiative meetings, it is obvious that the principles then recognized were formulated with wisdom and precision, so that they have been the guide of the Bible Society for one hundred years, and are not likely to be amended in the century to come. The first article declares that the sole object of the Society shall be to encourage a wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment, and that the only copies in the languages of the United Kingdom to be circulated by the Society shall be the Authorized Version. The second article bespeaks cooperation, and looks forward to activities beyond the bounds of the British Empire. This Society—so it reads,—"shall add its endeavors to those employed by other societies for circulating the Scriptures through the British dominions, and shall also, according to its ability, extend its influence to other countries, whether Christian, Mohammedan, or Pagan." The committee of management was to include six foreigners resident in England, and, of the remainder, one half should be members of the Church of England and the other half members of other denominations of Christians. In all it was a board of thirty-six laymen. There was an understanding that no clergyman or minister should speak on any subject under discussion without special leave. If any member did not attend with fair regularity, he could not be re-elected; and those six who, for any cause whatsoever, made the smallest number of attendances were dropped and not re-chosen for a year. Many distinguished persons,—prelates, ministers, scholars, professional and business men—have always been included among the Vice-Presidents; and thus the Society has had an endorsement which is considered of value,—more so, perhaps, than a similar approbation would be in the United States, though here too it has been found advantageous. The Society was, in fact, a society of laymen, sup-

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ported or endorsed by distinguished clergymen. Ecclesiastical differences and jealousies were thus concealed, if not avoided; and the enthusiastic and efficient labors were secured of eminent men, devoted to the affairs of business and politics.

If any one, at that time, could have foreseen the results which were to follow from this beginning, the London *Times*, in March, 1804, would surely have reported the meeting and the speakers; but a search through the pages of that paper for several successive issues has not revealed a single "item" on this subject. "The Gentleman's Magazine," under the date of Wednesday, March 7th, did make an announcement of the proceedings.

It is worthy of mention, in this connection, that at this very time all England was alarmed by the apprehension that Napoleon, just proclaimed Emperor, having his armies grouped upon the coast of the Channel, was ready for a descent upon the British Isles.

Now let us turn from the origin of the British and Foreign Bible Society to the results which have been reached through its direct agency, leaving for later paragraphs its indirect achievements through its American ally. In view of the coming celebration, many historical and statistical papers have been prepared for general distribution, and from these official sources the figures which follow are chiefly derived. Some are taken from a tract by William Canton, entitled "What is the Bible Society?" some from the "Conquests of the Bible," set forth by T. H. Darlow, literary superintendent, and some from the "Book of God's Kingdom," by E. H. Pearce. A complete history of the Society from 1804 to 1904, by William Canton, has been promised for early publication. The annual reports of the Society have also been consulted.

From these sources it appears that the total issues of the Society, including Bibles, New Testaments, and portions of the Bible, chiefly Gospels and Psalters, from 1804 to 1903, were one hundred and eighty-one millions, or exactly (so closely the account is kept) 180,982,740 copies. Nearly six million copies (5,943,775) were issued in the year 1902-3. It appears that in every hundred issues there were sixteen Bibles, twenty-five Testaments and fifty-nine "portions" or parts—that is to say, for every Bible, there was a call for more than five times as many portions of the text. Whatever may be assigned as the

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reason for this noteworthy difference, it clearly denotes the strictly religious preferences of the readers and purchasers. Only one-sixth of the issues contain the chronicles, histories, laws and prophecies of the Hebrew Scriptures. English penny Testaments have been especially popular,—nearly eight millions of them having been issued within the last two decades. The annual outlay of the Society has not varied much during recent years from the sum of £240,000. In this centennial year, an effort is making to raise a special fund of 250,000 guineas, more than a million and a quarter dollars, in addition to the usual contributions. These are different figures from those of the first five years, when the average collections were £6,000 annually, and from the glowing but cautious estimates formulated by the great Wilberforce, who thought that the Society's annual income might eventually reach the munificent total of £10,000.

Financial statistics, impressive as they are, are of much less interest than the statements which are given in respect to the versions which have been prepared and issued by the Society. Three hundred and seventy different languages are on the list of publications, and it takes sixty different kinds of alphabets to put these languages into print. From a scrutiny of the list, it is easy to see that, apart from the religious significance of the Society's work, its contributions to comparative philology, especially to the philology of the obscure tongues of uncivilized people, are of great importance. Of no other book are there so many versions. For example, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress has appeared in one hundred versions; the Imitation of Christ in, perhaps, half as many; and the authority of Dragonoff is quoted for saying that writings of Tolstoi have been printed in forty-five languages. In many instances, the representatives of the Bible Society have reduced to writing languages previously confined to oral expression, and thus much light has been thrown upon the origin of primitive speech. Students of language, like Max Müller or William D. Whitney, have been outspoken in their appreciation of these services.

The Society had scarcely begun to show its activity when controversies arose, for the most part of transient interest, or of slight significance, so that it would be tedious to dwell upon the points of difference; yet a brief mention of them will illustrate the obstacles encountered by a very simple organization for a very

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definite and useful purpose. The first was the text of the Welsh Bible, some revision having been made chiefly in the spelling. Next, a "country clergyman," as he signed himself, attacked the Society as likely to be hostile to the Established Church. On the Continent, the Nuremberg Bible Society had agreed to exchange, with a Roman Catholic Bible Society at Ratisbon, one thousand Protestant New Testaments for an equal number of Roman Catholic. To this, such opposition was manifest that the British Society induced its affiliation in Nuremberg to rescind the grant; and, to escape the charge of illiberality, individual members of the Committee paid for the copies required at Ratisbon. Mr. Thomas Twining protested against interference with the religious opinions of the inhabitants of India, likely to result from the proposed circulation of the Scriptures. Far more earnest was the discussion as to whether the Apocryphal should be printed with the Canonical books, and the question was finally settled by their exclusion. These are examples of the perplexities that arose at the outset. Fortunately, there were great encouragements. A Welsh Bible, satisfactory to all parties, having finally been printed, its reception was thus described by "an eye-witness:"

"When the arrival of the cart was announced which carried the first sacred load, the Welsh peasants went out in crowds to meet it; welcomed it as the Israelites did the ark of old; drew it into the town; and eagerly bore off every copy, as rapidly as they could be dispersed. The young people were to be seen consuming the whole night in reading it. Laborers carried it with them to the fields, that they might enjoy it during the intervals of their labor, and lose no opportunity of becoming acquainted with its sacred truths."

Similar enthusiasm was shown by the Scotch Highlanders when the Gaelic version was made accessible to them, and by the Spanish prisoners of war in England, when they received copies of the Testament in Spanish.

Let us now turn to the American Bible Society, child of the British. Its origin dates from Wednesday, May 8th, 1816, when a meeting was held in New York, called together by one of the foremost men of his time, the Honorable Elias Boudinot of New Jersey. There had been several local organizations previously,—among them, one in the city of New York, one in New Jersey. The first-named addressed a letter to the second-named, proposing a convention of delegates from such Bible Societies as might be

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disposed toward cooperation in the distribution of the Holy Scriptures. Acting on this suggestion, Mr. Boudinot, as President of the New Jersey Society, issued a call for a meeting to be held in New York. Delegates from twenty-eight local societies responded, by their presence, to this call. Sixty names are on the list,—a good sprinkling of Doctors of Divinity among them, and perhaps an equal number of men in public life. They came from near and distant places and included members of most of the Protestant denominations. Boudinot's name is not given in the register of attendants, and in the place of Chairman, which he would doubtless have filled, stood Joshua M. Wallace of Burlington. Joseph C. Hornblower, William Jay, Samuel Bayard, Matthew St. Clair Clark, Adrian Van Sinderen, and Dr. Valentine Mott were representative lay members; Bishop Henshaw, President Nott, Jedediah Morse, John H. Rice, Nathanael W. Taylor, Lyman Beecher, John M. Mason, Gardiner Spring, and Philip Milledoler were among the ministers whose names are still well remembered. Lyman Beecher, whose love of a good story would sometimes crop out in serious affairs, has written a brief account of this meeting. When the vote was put that it was expedient to form an American Bible Society, there was a moment, he says, of prayerful silence. At one instant, he continues, things had seemed to tangle and some feelings began to rise. At that moment Dr. Mason rose hastily, and said:

"Mr. President, the Lord Jesus never built a church but what the devil built a chapel close to it; and he is here now, this moment, in this room, with his finger in the ink-horn, not to write your Constitution, but to blot it out!"

This sudden address convulsed the Convention with laughter, which in a moment dispelled the storm and revealed a clear sun, which instantly perceiving, he said, "There! there! he has gone already to his blue brimstone!"

The significant phrases adopted by "the parent society" were introduced into the constitution of its younger colleague, *mutatis mutandis*. Instead of saying, as the British did, "the Authorized Version," the Americans said "the version now in common use." There were to be thirty-six laymen chosen as a Board of Managers, two-thirds of them residents in the city of New York or its vicinity. In the list first selected appear the names of Henry Rutgers,

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John Bingham, DeWitt Clinton, Stephen Van Rensselaer, Rufus King, Richard Varick, Jeremiah Evarts, Divie Bethune, and others not quite so famous now, but then well known as leading citizens of New York. Duly notified of their appointment, they met in the City Hall on May 11th, and elected Elias Boudinot President, and a long list of Vice-Presidents from different States in the Union,—among them, John Jay, Caleb Strong, John Cotton Smith, Bushrod Washington, William Wirt, and Felix Grundy. From that time until now, the Society has usually been so fortunate as to secure for its officers men equally well known for their good standing in the administration of public affairs.

Of the original group, Elias Boudinot deserves the highest honor. He was seventy-six years old when he became the Society's first President, and he held the office five years, bringing to it all the influence of wide and wise experience obtained in long-continued public service. He had been President of the Continental Congress, and a member of the first three Congresses of the United States. Among other "concerns," his interest in the Indians, whom he believed to be descendants of "the lost tribes" of Israel, was noteworthy; but his opinions on other subjects were not at all visionary, and his services throughout a long life justly entitle him to remembrance as one of the earliest, wisest, and best of American philanthropists.

Here may be mentioned an interesting but a well-forgotten fact—that Congress, in 1777, appointed a committee to advise as to the printing of an edition of thirty thousand copies of the Bible. The committee reported difficulties; whereupon Congress ordered the importation, at the expense of Congress, of twenty thousand English Bibles, from Holland, Scotland, or elsewhere, into different American ports. It does not appear that the order was executed. A few years later, in 1782, Congress recommended to the inhabitants of the United States an edition of the Bible published by Robert Aitken, in Philadelphia, at Pope's Head, three doors above the Coffee House in Market Street. This was the first English Bible published in this country. Copies of this edition of the Bible are rare, and although they do not bring prices as high as are paid for Eliot's Indian Bibles they are very costly. A copy in the Library of Congress, shown to the writer by Mr. A. R. Spofford, is in excellent and apparently perfect condition—two volumes in the original binding. On the reverse of

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the title page, after a recital of the circumstances that led up to the action of Congress, this commendation is printed under the date September 12, 1782:

"*Resolved:* That the United States in Congress assembled highly approve the pious and laudable undertaking of Mr. Aitken, as subservient to the interest of religion, as well as an instance of the progress of arts in this country, and being satisfied from the above report of his care and accuracy in the execution of the work, they recommend this edition of the Bible to the inhabitants of the United States, and hereby authorize him to publish this Recommendation in the manner he shall think proper.

"CHA. THOMSON, *Secretary.*"

The activities of the younger society have kept pace with those of its torch-bearing predecessors. During eighty-seven years, its issues have reached the aggregate number of seventy-two million, six hundred and seventy thousand, seven hundred and eighty-three copies (72,670,783). During the last year (1902-3), the issues almost amounted to two millions (1,993,558). More than half this number of books were sent out from the Bible Houses of foreign lands. Here again the striking and suggestive fact appears, that parts of the Scriptures are more in demand than the entire book. Thus, among the books put forth abroad, one million in number, somewhat more than forty thousand were Bibles, and the remainder were New Testaments and other "portions"—that is, for every Bible, twenty-four parts of a Bible. This is partly due, of course, to difference in price, partly to the lack of versions of the entire Bible, but also, probably, in great measure to the fact that the Gospels, the Psalms and portions of the Epistles are most serviceable in the development of religious character, and in the introduction of Christian precepts and doctrines.

So much attention bestowed on the two societies that have been discussed should not preclude the remembrance of what is probably the oldest Bible Society of the world, the Canstein Bible Society of Halle, Germany (in connection with the well-known Francke Orphan House), founded in 1710, by Karl Hildebrand, Marquis of Canstein, for the purpose of supplying the poor with Bibles. Many younger societies are likewise very active, among them the National Bible Society of Scotland, formed in 1861. A Russian Bible Society, founded in 1813, flourished, largely with the support of Americans and Englishmen, until 1826, when it was suppressed by the Emperor Nicholas, on the ground that the

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Church, and not a secular society, should direct the circulation of the Scriptures. This is a striking contrast to the views which prevailed in England.

As a general rule, the acceptance of the Authorized Version has been unquestioned, yet there are some exceptions. Thus, in the middle of the last century, a difference of opinion arose in this country with respect to the proper rendering of the Greek word *baptizein*. Shall it be by "baptize" or by "immerse"? First the American and Foreign Bible Society, in 1836, and then the American Bible Union, in 1850, were formed by those who wished to depart from the established usage. At another time, there was a remarkable controversy which pertained to the typographical usages rather than to the textual accuracy of the publications. It was a lively controversy while it lasted; but, happily, the crackling of the thorns beneath the pot soon ceased, and the embers are now scattered beyond recovery. It showed how exceptionally sensitive some persons are to changes of any sort, and especially to changes in matters sacred. The remembrance of this hostility, awakened by the harmless and helpful suggestions for a more accurate text, may lead to an appreciation of the difficulties which arise in the minds of non-Christian people when urged to abandon the usages and books they learned to revere in childhood.

It does not come within the range of this article to speak of the characteristics of the Bible, or to compare it with the hallowed writings of other faiths. Those who wish to make such a scrutiny may find abundant material in English in the translations brought together by Max Müller, the German-English orientalist, in his remarkable series of forty-nine volumes entitled the "Sacred Books of the East." Other ancient religious writings, not included in the series which he edited, are also accessible. A comparison of our Scriptures with those of all other religions is an excellent study for those, if such there be, who are disposed to question the value of our possession, or to regret its transmission to other peoples. In a letter written twenty years ago, the scholar just mentioned said to his correspondent: "I do not like the expression the 'Bibles of the World.' It seems to me conceited. We might as well speak of the Vedas or the Korans of the World. Yet the phrase is so common it will be difficult to suppress it. I heard the other day that some Buddhists in Japan meant to start what they call the 'Bible Society'

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for printing and distributing portions of the Tripitaka. I prefer to speak of Sacred Books."

Perhaps the most serious question that can be raised in respect to the English Bible is the revision of that version which has been in common use since the days of King James the First. In the discussion of this subject, the fact is often lost sight of that the Authorized Version was itself a revision, and not an original translation. Nevertheless, this version has been so widely circulated, is so familiar to all English-speaking Protestants, is of such surpassing excellence, and is so hallowed by sacred associations, that any change is deprecated, even if made for greater accuracy. The conservatives hold the fort. It is not likely in our day that any version will supplant or supersede the old text; it is most likely and most desirable that revisions should supplement it. This is not the place for a presentation of the arguments *pro* and *con*. Revision has been secured by the combined studies and counsel of some of the ablest scholars in England and in this country, and the question has naturally arisen, What will the Bible Societies do about it? One thing seems absolutely certain,—the familiar English text will not give way to any extended or radical changes in its language. The British Society, after prolonged discussion has placed the revision of 1881-1885 on its list, without fostering or hindering its circulation. The American Bible Society is now face to face with this problem.

Without doubt, we may admit that the extreme reverence bestowed upon the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments is based, to a great extent, upon the Jewish adherence to the letter that killeth, and not upon the Christian spirit that maketh alive. It has led to many grievous errors, which are diminishing every day in the light of increasing intelligence and more accurate scholarship. We may look with amazement upon the endeavors which have been put forth in Christian states to apply the Levitical precepts to the organization of an occidental society. We may brand as superstition the random opening of the holy book to discover by chance a word or a hint applicable to some passing emergency. But then, if we do all this, we must also weigh the influence of the Bible in the development of personal character, and the power it has exerted in purifying and elevating human society, wherever its precepts have been read and accepted. For an example of its salutary conversion of a barbarous people, we need

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only one such example, among many that might be given, like that of Paton's story of his successes in the New Hebrides. As an example of what the Bible can do for civilized people, we may study the history of every European nation which has had, since the Reformation, free circulation of the Scriptures. Nor are we to think alone of its religious excellence. Goldwin Smith has truly said that the Bible, by its influence on character, public as well as private, claims a leading place not only in religious and intellectual life, but in political history.

In looking over the records which we have briefly given, it is obvious that the strength of both Societies depends upon laymen. However broad-minded and catholic the clergy may be, their names are inevitably associated with the religious bodies to which they belong. Laymen may, indeed, adhere with equal tenacity to their own denominations, but the relationship is less conspicuous and less likely to awaken animadversions. Christian union, at all events among Protestants, is thus positively secured by hiding differences and giving emphasis to agreements. "Without note or comment" has been the watchword from the beginning. This precludes the Society from such elucidations as all parties would agree upon as useful, and this is a disadvantage; but the rule likewise precludes all controversial utterances respecting doctrines, and this is a positive advantage which far outweighs the disadvantage. Curiously enough, the marginal readings and the headings of the chapters are not regarded as "notes and comments," and they appear in the Society's Bibles, often conveying interpretations of a very definite and sometimes of a very questionable character. It is certainly quite time that the date "4004, B. C.," as that of the beginning of the world, should be struck out of all the stereotyped plates.

The force bestowed upon translating the Scriptures into every living language is, on the whole, the most satisfactory illustration of the activity of the two Societies. Neither the history of literature nor the history of religion can show any parallel to these achievements, in which British and Americans have alike taken part. The learning, the patience, the discrimination shown by the translators entitle them to most grateful remembrance, and to the most honorable position not only in the annals of the Bible, but also in the history of civilization. As we have already said, the Societies are not restricted to printing the sacred books, but

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they carry them to and offer them in every part of the world, in a few places maintaining Bible Houses as depositaries and clearing agencies where different versions may be prepared, or brought together, and distributed. Hundreds of agents are employed, especially in foreign lands, to promote the circulation of the Scriptures, and to make it easy for any one who wishes to secure copies. Four times since its origin, the American Society has provided for a canvass of the United States, looking to the supply of every family which would purchase a Bible or accept one as a gift. These canvasses were made in 1829, 1856, 1866, and 1882.

As the celebration of "Bible Day" is coming on (March 6th, 1904), several of the most distinguished men in the public life of the United States have united in a commendation of the work of the American Bible Society. Among them are those who have been called by the American people to the highest stations. The President, the ex-President, the Chief Justice, two Justices of the Supreme Court, the Secretary of State and several other members of the Cabinet, a number of Senators and Representatives bear their testimony to the work of the Society. Proceeding from such a source, the following words have great weight, and with them this article will be concluded:

"The American Bible Society has, for nearly eighty-eight years, pursued its single aim of circulating the Bible, without note or comment, in this and in all lands. For this purpose, it has been concerned in securing translations of the Scriptures in nearly one hundred languages. It sustains a close relation to the Christian churches of the United States, as the ally and helper of their mission-work at home and abroad, and, as such, deserves and receives their support.

"But, in addition, the effect of its labors has been very marked upon our whole civilization. To have circulated, as it has done, seventy-two million Bibles, Testaments, or portions thereof, is to have powerfully contributed to the moral health of the world. The social fabric of modern states has no surer foundation than the Bible, especially in a republic like ours, which rests upon the moral character and educated judgment of the individual. No thoughtful man can doubt that to decrease the circulation and use of the Bible among the people would seriously menace the highest interests of civilized humanity.

"Inasmuch as the work of the Society is in danger of being seriously crippled from lack of funds, its appeal for aid should meet generous response from all who love American institutions. We owe a debt to the Bible which can be partly paid now, by carrying forward this great undertaking with increased vigor."

DANIEL COIT GILMAN.

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WOULD WOMAN SUFFRAGE BENEFIT THE STATE, AND WOMAN HERSELF?

BY IDA HUSTED HARPER.

SUCH an arraignment of woman by a woman is seldom seen as appeared in the January NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW under the title, "Woman's Assumption of Sex Superiority," in which Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer makes these surprising assertions:

> **"I fail to see in women any evidence of the character that is needed in public life;" "I challenge the assumption that women as a sex could contribute a regenerative force to the body politic;" "I am quite sure that, in the political arena, I should dread the advent of women as voters and office-holders a little more than that of the 'tiger.'"**

The reasons given for this total lack of faith in women are briefly these: Character is the one force needed in American life to-day, and there is nothing in the life and work of women up to the present time to indicate that they possess this character; they have shirked or done badly the tasks allotted to them in the past; they have turned their backs on their own duties and reached forth to grasp the more spectacular work of others in the hope of public applause and reward; they have an increasing desire to belong to organizations and hold office, and they sometimes use unscrupulous methods; they have not been good mothers or there would not be so many "grafters" in politics and elsewhere; they have shirked the noblest duty on God's earth.

This last charge is somewhat obscure; but, as reference is made later on to "overriding nature," it evidently means that there are not so many children in the family as there used to be. There would be some difficulty, however, in utilizing this fact as proof that women could not cast a conscientious ballot or do effective public work. They would really have more time for the latter without neglecting home duties.

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It must be recognized that the "grafters" of to-day, the men who are dishonest in politics, in business and in public and private life, are not the sons of the modern woman, with her clubs, her social functions and her alleged deterioration; but they are the product of those dear, old-fashioned mothers, who, to quote Mrs. Meyer, were distinguished for "daily uncomplaining attention to household details; tender, unseen care given to children; brooding over, watching and painstaking upbuilding of character." It would be an injustice and an insult, however, to hold the mothers responsible for the so-called "grafters." These are, on the contrary, the direct result of the environment and conditions which men find awaiting them as soon as they step outside the home and beyond the mother's personal influence. It is because women have seen again and again the powerlessness of mothers, that they are demanding a voice in shaping these conditions which now are able to counteract the purest and strongest of home influences.

It is unquestionably true that women show an increasing desire to belong to organizations, but this is largely because they have learned that any movement to succeed must have an organized force behind it. There are now over one hundred national associations of women in the United States, with thousands of auxiliaries and about 4,000,000 members. Without exception, their object and work are for the progress and uplift of mankind. When Mrs. Meyer expresses the hope that this organized effort may die out and that women may return to quiet, private "personal touch," she wishes in effect for the breaking up of the great missionary societies of women in all the churches; the W. C. T. U., which encircles the globe; the patriotic societies, of which the Woman's Relief Corps alone has raised $2,500,000 and expended the money in the assistance of soldiers, their widows and orphans; the Collegiate Alumnæ Association, with its splendid educational work; the Young Women's Christian Association, which every year reaches out its helping hands to over 50,000 girls and women. It would be impossible to estimate the loss to society if the vast organized work of women should come to an end.

There are, of course, instances where women develop a love for the lime-light of the platform, where they "scramble" for office, even where they use unscrupulous methods, but these instances are so few in the great body of women that they seem infinitesimal.

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The organizations mentioned above, which have about 1,200,000 enrolled members, are practically free from any such accusations. The National Woman Suffrage Association has a perfectly clean record of thirty-five years. In most societies it is difficult to persuade women to hold the offices. When the facts are sifted, it will be found that two or three organizations, which fill a large place in the public eye, not because of their achievements but because they happen to be composed of fashionable women, are responsible for all the discredit which it has been attempted to fasten on women's organizations in general.

To say that "women have shirked or done badly their work in the past," is to impeach this work in the home, the church, the schools, the philanthropies; but in every one of these fields the charge is disproved by the facts. All are largely sustained by the capable work of women. From the days of the pioneers down to the present, the homes of the country owe just as much to women as to men, and in countless thousands of cases it is the women who have held the home and the family together. If it were not for the devoted and efficient service of women, the churches would perish. So well have they proved their capacity for teaching, that the public schools are passing into their hands. This is equally true of philanthropic effort; and, more and more, the charities, the reforms and the humanities of every kind are looking to women for their maintenance. It is because women have been faithful over few things that they are now being made rulers over so many.

"Have women done the work they found to be done, willingly, conscientiously, patiently, uncomplainingly?" asks Mrs. Meyer. "Have they been satisfied to do it without applause, without public reward? Have they brought to bear on this work the best they had, the best they could become?" Yes, a thousand times yes. The world is filled with such women. They are the enduring fibre of every community. They form the immense majority, and the exceptions attract so much attention simply because they are exceptions.

As unfounded as the others is the charge that "women have turned their backs on their own duties to grasp the more spectacular work of others." The peculiar industrial conditions of the present have done much to break up the individual home, but there has been no lessening of woman's innate love for home.

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There never was a time when women were giving such careful, scientific study to domestic questions, striving to find a solution of the increasing problems, experimenting with new methods. learning food values, establishing training-schools for servants and attending cooking-classes themselves, investigating the whole range of household economics. The modern woman could enlighten her foremothers on many points of sanitation, plumbing, ventilation, diet, nursing and preventive measures against disease, of which those good women were in total ignorance. The homes of to-day are infinitely more beautiful, comfortable and healthful than those of olden times, while children are reared with greater intelligence, with just as much love and with more tenderness. For all these things, give woman her just credit.

The fact that several million women are employed in outside work does not necessarily mean that women have lost their taste for domestic industries. It simply means that they have been compelled to go after their work, which has been taken away from the home, and, as they cannot bring it back, they must stay with it. No more does it follow that women who are not wage-earners have lost their love of home because they have gone so largely into public activities. This is made possible because families are smaller, and because a great proportion of the work which they used to do within the household is now done outside of it by other women *and by men,* thus leaving them a considerable amount of leisure which they can employ in other duties. Without any desire to be unpleasantly personal, and solely to emphasize this point, it may be said that, for these reasons, the author of the article which we are now considering has been able to write several books, to belong to various clubs and societies, to act as trustee of a college, to speak many times from the public platform, and to serve on boards and committees. No one is justified in assuming that women engage in any of such activities "in the hope of public applause." They may, and doubtless do, have a nobler motive.

In attempting to disprove any superiority on the part of women, Mrs. Meyer says in effect that, if women had lived for centuries in the same freedom and under the same temptations as men, they might not be any better morally. But since they have not so lived for centuries, even if there is no better reason for it, it will have to be admitted that they do represent a much larger

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proportion of morality than do men. The assertion that "the use of stimulants among women is increasing rapidly," is one which is often recklessly made, but it does not seem to be supported by anything beyond personal opinions. The charge has been vigorously denied by authorities just as good as those who have made it. Even if it be true, the number of intemperate women is still immeasurably less than the number who are strictly temperate, and instead of being an argument against admitting women to the suffrage it is the strongest one that could be made in favor of it. Give them a chance to check the evil of intemperance, which men cannot or will not do, before the time comes when women themselves may not have the inclination or the power to do so.

The entire article under discussion is based on an erroneous statement, viz.: "In the usual tone that pervades the speeches at a Woman's Rights Meeting, there is a degree of bitterness, of contempt, of positive enmity against men that is not dreamed of by the average person."

This archaic fallacy, it seems, has still some believers. The present writer, in a recent preparation of a history of the movement, had occasion to read every speech made at a National Woman Suffrage convention during the past twenty years, and not one possibly could be included in the above category. Portions of 340 of these addresses, by all the prominent speakers who attended these annual conventions during this score of years, are published in this volume, and also the resolutions adopted. He who will may read, and he will not find one paragraph expressing bitterness, contempt or enmity. It does not seem possible to offer any stronger refutation of this charge.

Is there, in fact, a "sex-superiority" which woman could bring to the electorate for the benefit of the State, and would the possession of the franchise improve or impair her character?

Since the early days of our Government, have any class of citizens ever been enfranchised in the belief that they would add to the voting body valuable and much-needed qualities? Were education, morality, temperance and a high degree of patriotism expected, when it was provided that every immigrant who landed on our shores should be equipped with the ballot? Was it because of these qualifications that several millions of plantation negroes were endowed with the suffrage? And is it because "character"

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is so badly needed at the ballot-box, that the reservations are being scoured to round up the Indians at the polls? It is only when it is proposed to enfranchise women, that the whole nation becomes deeply solicitous as to whether they will bring to the sacredly guarded electorate those superior qualifications which always have been deemed so necessary.

The situation is the same in regard to the personal effect of the franchise. There never has been a doubt as to its advantage for men. The whole argument for so-called universal suffrage has been that it is the greatest force for developing self-respect, independence, a sense of responsibility—the highest manhood. But, when the conferring of this wonderful power on woman is advocated, the cry at once goes up, "Would it be advantageous to her? Would it not be detrimental to her womanhood?" Right protective of all other rights, supreme gift to man—but not good for women!

Many of the traits which are to be regretted in the women of the present, are the inevitable result of their receiving in a very brief space of time almost unlimited freedom, unaccompanied by that responsibility which should always be a balance wheel for liberty. In this, some of them are not unlike the children of to-day, who are fortunate in being spared the repression and severity of the past, but unfortunate in being released from any discipline whatever. Flattered by being called "queens," they act on the principle that "the queen can do wrong;" and, assured that they are "angels," they consider themselves not bound by the rules made for humans. Woman is a menace to society who has privileges without corresponding duties, who exercises a strong influence not steadied by responsibility for its effects. Such is very largely the position of woman, who now is an important factor in all the economic questions of the Government.

"Would it be to her advantage to possess the franchise?" "Would it not destroy the womanly instincts?" Instincts may be trusted to take care of themselves, and the idea of the "womanly" has been revised. The ideal woman of our grandfathers has passed into oblivion and has no part in the questions of to-day. Whatever may be one's theories as to the proper sphere of women, present conditions demand that they shall be educated, self-reliant, trained in practical work, experienced in business methods, responsible for their actions. The broad-minded and far-seeing

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will admit that girls now need virtually the same general preparation as boys to fit them for life. It is universally conceded that the ballot is the most valuable prerogative of citizenship, "the right which guarantees all others." How, then, could it fail to be of benefit to women? Where is the logic in educating them, training them for business, opening all avenues of employment, and then denying to them the most important means for the protection of their interests, on the ground that, being women, its possession would be of no advantage to them?

The suffrage is the great primary law-making power, and he who wields it has a direct influence over every law that is enacted. There is scarcely one of the laws which does not affect woman. The laws mete out to her the full penalty for crime; they levy, collect and expend her taxes; they prescribe the education of her children; they regulate the gas and water-supply; they control the streets and alleys; they dispose of the garbage and sewage; they inspect the food, its purity, weight and measure; they regulate the sale of cigarettes and obscene literature. The laws extend still further. They control absolutely the liquor traffic, the gambling-rooms, the houses of ill-repute; they decide the punishment for all crimes against women, and for ill-treatment and desertion of family; they provide for marriage, for divorce, for guardianship of children, for the buying, selling and division of property. Still further do they reach and govern the factory system, with its woman and child labor, the hospitals, the charitable and penal institutions.

But why attempt to enumerate? Women live, move and have their being from birth to death under the regulation of the laws, and who shall presume to question the advantage it would be to them to have a voice in electing the makers, and especially the administrators, of these laws? The laws, for the most part, are reasonably good; but their maladministration, particularly in our cities, makes municipal government in this country the byword of the civilized world. Would it not be to the benefit of woman, her home and family, if she had power to depose dishonest and incompetent officials? Until they have the franchise, women cannot serve on juries, nor sit in the Legislature, nor so much as attend a political convention and help nominate the men who are to fill every office in the State, from constable to Governor. Is this a disadvantage? It is so considered, to such an extent

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that the privilege is not refused to any male citizen in the commonwealth, outside of the insane asylums and the penitentiaries.

The women of to-day are extending their housekeeping to the municipality, their motherhood to the children of the nation; and, banded in great organizations, they are striving to make the world better through many different lines of work. Whatever their object, it almost invariably brings them to the door of the city council, the State Legislature or the national Congress; and how do they come? Is it as constituents who put the members of these bodies in their exalted positions and can put them out at will, and who have a right to demand the enactment of their measures? Far from it. They approach humbly and timidly, expecting to be snubbed, and seldom disappointed in that expectation; presenting a petition which does not represent a single vote, and is received with contempt; grudged every minute of time given to them; their bill never presented by one of their own sex, and, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, buried in a pigeon-hole and never resurrected? Would it be to the advantage of women engaged in civic work to come before these legislative bodies as enfranchised citizens? Would it be to their advantage to fill some of the public offices themselves, and handle some of the public funds to which their taxes have contributed?

But there is still another class—the several million salary-earning and wage-earning women of the country. Would the suffrage be of benefit to them? This is evidently the opinion of the American Federation of Labor, one of the oldest, largest and most influential organizations of working-men in the country; for, at its national convention in Boston, a few months ago, it adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, that the best interests of labor require the admission of women to full citizenship, as a matter of justice to them and as the necessary step toward insuring and raising the wages of all."

The views of the International Typographical Union, one of the most conservative and perfectly organized bodies in existence, certainly are entitled to consideration, and at its last convention, in Washington, D. C., it passed this resolution:

"Recognizing that industrial evolution has driven women, in ever increasing numbers, into the trades and professions, until they constitute

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a large percentage of the wage-earners of the country, we believe they should have the same right to vote as men, for the better defence of their industrial position."

Labor organizations generally hold these views, and theirs may be accepted as expert testimony. They understand what would be the helplessness of their own position without the tremendous power of the ballot, and they see the necessity of giving its protection to wage-earning women. At best, the weaker party in the struggle, women now endure all the hardships of working-men, with the added handicap of disfranchisement. Investigations of the United States Department of Labor in 1900 showed that, in seventy-five per cent. of the cases recorded, women received fifty per cent. less wages than men for the same work done with the same degree of efficiency. People may talk glibly of supply and demand, but the fact remains that disfranchised labor is cheapened labor, and not only degrades itself but drags down enfranchised labor. Working-men have secured their present position largely through the political force represented by their organizations, but to these the women are a constant menace. If admitted to the unions, they bring no voting strength; if excluded, they are used by employers to undermine wages. Disfranchisement means degradation in the business world, whether the victim be a Chinaman or a woman. The Chinese may be driven out of the country; women are here to stay, and they have entered the industries for all time. For the sake of self-preservation, as well as for the love of justice, men should hasten to invest them with the power to protect themselves and to cooperate in measures of mutual benefit.

To sum up briefly. Charles Sumner said:

"The ballot is the one thing needful, without which rights of testimony and all other rights will be as cobwebs. To him who has the ballot all other things shall be given. The ballot is like the horn of abundance, out of which overflow rights of every kind. Or, better still, it is like the hand of the body, and as the hand is, in the work of civilization, so is the ballot, in the work of Government. 'Give me the ballot and I can move the world.'"

Thus, all through the years from the beginning of this greatest experiment toward a republican form of government, the statesmen have continued to declare: "There is no freedom without the

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ballot;" "the suffrage is the foundation of liberty;" "the vote is the citizen's emblem of sovereignty." By what process of reasoning can the conclusion be reached that, although the franchise is of paramount benefit to man, it would be of no advantage to woman? This could be done only on the theory that woman is already adequately represented by man. But James Otis, in defending the rights of the colonists, declared: "No such phrase as virtual representation is known in law or constitution; it is altogether a subtlety and illusion, wholly unfounded and absurd." It was not a speaker on the woman-suffrage platform of to-day, but Benjamin Franklin, a founder of our Government, who said: "They who have no voice nor vote in the electing of representatives do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes and to their representatives."

Whether the suffrage would be a benefit to woman must be considered, not with reference to the women of the past, but with reference to those of the present and the future—women who are rapidly becoming equal factors with men in education, the industries and civic work of every nature. Even on the mothers of to-day is laid a heavier responsibility than ever was laid on mothers before, since they are being called to account for conditions outside the home, even while denied any direct power over these conditions. The eminent scientist, Huxley, said: "Admitting, for the sake of argument, that woman is the weaker, mentally and physically, for that very reason she should have the ballot, and every help which the world can give her." It is safer to possess the power of self-protection than to depend on even the wisest and best. Self-government means dignity, development, self-respect, self-reliance, judgment and courage. The possession of the franchise would make women stronger. In a report to Congress on this question Thomas B. Reed and other experienced members said: "We believe that every citizen in the United States is made more intelligent through his participation in politics and political campaigns." Women now have no incentive to study political questions, and either they present the melancholy spectacle of one-half the citizens without interest in affairs of Government, or, if they attempt to use their influence, it is without any responsibility for consequences. The minds of women could not fail to be broadened and strengthened by study and action on questions of tariff, currency, commerce, war, arbitration, ex-

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tension of territory and others of national moment; and any education which fits them for the largest duties of life will be of equal value in limited and special work of whatever nature.

The Hon. George F. Edmunds said, in the United States Senate: "Disfranchisement is a cruel and degrading penalty, that ought not be inflicted except for crime." He had only men in mind; but how can anything be a degradation for a man and not for a woman? The training of children is placed almost exclusively in the hands of women—mothers and teachers; but how can the youth of the country receive with respect lessons in patriotism and public duty from those whom the Government has branded with dishonor? Men in the past have had a certain chivalry toward women because of their helplessness, dependence and many disadvantages in the struggle for existence. As these are passing away, this chivalry must be succeeded by something of a more substantial and enduring nature—the sincere and complete respect which one can give only to his equals or his superiors. But how is this possible, when, by the constitutions and the laws, woman is ranked with lunatics, imbeciles, felons, tribal Indians, Chinese and other unnaturalized immigrants?

It seems incredible that any one can give to this subject serious and intelligent study, putting aside sentiment and prejudice, and still ask the question, "Would the suffrage be a benefit to woman?"

In a so-called democratic and representative government, women citizens should have the franchise as an abstract right, guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence and the National Constitution. Since, however, in the case of women alone, of all the people, it has been deemed necessary to consider gravely for fifty years whether enfranchisement would not be injurious to them and detrimental to the State, let the argument proceed.

It will be admitted that the present Government is solely the work of men. Into it they have put their best and their worst. They have included in the electorate every masculine element and have no reserves. They have created a male oligarchy. Behold it! Is there a man in the United States entirely satisfied with it? Is there not a growing skepticism as to the value of a democracy? Are not the monarchies of the world taking fresh courage, when they view this republican experiment of over a century-and-a-quarter? We believe that our Government is founded upon correct principles. In what, then, consists the

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weakness and the danger which cannot fail to be recognized? Among other causes are disregard for law, intemperance, dominance of the material over the spiritual, admiration for physical rather than moral force, immorality in high places, dishonesty in public life, brain power unrestrained by heart and conscience.

If there is not within our own nation an element capable of counteracting these tendencies, what hope is there for the salvation of the Government? And if in women is not found this essential constituent, where shall we look for it? Women form the only class that remains to be brought into the body politic. Until this has been done and the results thoroughly tested, the possibilities of a republic never can be known. Our founders had the true idea, but it has been only half-developed. It is a most erroneous belief that all the wisdom, judgment, common sense and other qualities necessary to carry on successfully a great government reside in one-half of the people.

It is true that women would bring also some undesirable qualities to the electorate, but the estimate of their influence must be based on the qualifications of the majority. Consider what it has received during the past thirty-five years from the majority of negroes, Indians and immigrants who have been enfranchised during that time, and then judge whether women, as a body, could not bring something to offset these last acquisitions. Those who fear the foreign and the colored vote should remember that there are more native-born women in the United States than foreign-born men and women; more white women than colored men and women. While there was in 1900 a slightly larger percentage of illiteracy among women than among men over twenty-one years of age, this included the very old women who had no facilities for education in their youth. But from ten to twenty years of age, there is a decided reversal of these figures, and the illiteracy is much less among girls than among boys. These figures and the statistics of the public schools show that more girls than boys are being educated, so that henceforth the enfranchisement of women would bring more education to the electorate than that of men.

The records of all the courts, police stations, jails and penitentiaries sustain the assertion that women are far more law-abiding than men. That they are much more temperate will not be denied, nor that they form a very small percentage of those who frequent gambling-rooms and brothels. Opponents of universal

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suffrage urge that it would enfranchise the families of drinking, gambling, immoral men. True, but the great majority of these women would rejoice to vote against the institutions that are ruining their homes and disgracing their children. The church influence, with all that it stands for, would have three times its present representation, and the ministers could make their appeals to voters instead of to a disfranchised congregation. The public-school teachers would have nearly four times as many votes as now. Practically, no "tramp" or floating votes would be added. The last census showed 1,800,000 more men than women in the United States, and these naturally cannot vote as heads of families or represent the home. It will hardly be claimed that the best interests of home and children are as adequately represented at the polls as they would be if women had the franchise.

Conceding all that may be said as to the shortcomings of women, it still must be acknowledged that they are better prepared to exercise the suffrage than any class which ever has been admitted to the electorate. It has been said that "our Government is founded upon the broad principle, that the most effective government for mankind is not that which the wisest and best would select, but that which the average of mankind would select." Logically, then, to secure the most satisfactory results, woman must form a part of this average. Legislation and administration will thus represent two points of view, the man's and the woman's —the State and the Home—each absolutely dependent on the other. They will supply a needed balance in the Government, which cannot afford that any moral conviction shall lack utterance or any moral force be unemployed. To extravagance they will oppose economy; radicalism they will temper with conservatism; to physical they will add moral courage; masculine brain they will supplement with feminine heart, and the spirit of war they will vanquish with the spirit of peace. The questions of the future will be largely economic and social, and to the abstract and mechanical functions of the State in their settlement will be added woman's personal touch, sympathetic insight and self-sacrificing service. There must be strong cooperation, not alone among men, but also between men and women, to meet successfully the problems of the day, which, in their final analysis, are all political; and it is this cooperation which the women of the nation offer to the Government.

IDA HUSTED HARPER.

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THE POLAR CAMPAIGN.

BY J. SCOTT KELTIE, LL.D., SECRETARY OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

THE activity which has been displayed during recent years in polar exploration, North and South, is perhaps unprecedented since the days of the great Franklin Search Expeditions, half a century ago. In view both of what has been done in the past, and of the many items in the programme which is now being executed, it is evident that polar exploration, or at least its pioneer stage, must soon draw to a close. Already, indeed, the lands and seas that lie to the north of the Arctic Circle may be said to be known in their main outlines. In the way of geographical discovery, comparatively little, so far as can be judged, remains to be done; though, of course, of many areas our knowledge is of the most superficial character, and doubtless it will be long before all of them are represented on the map in any considerable detail. There still remains to be achieved, also, what in the popular estimation is the chief end of all polar exploration—the attainment by man of the most northerly spot on the earth's surface. The natural result is well reflected in the general character of the expeditions which now direct their course towards the North Polar area.

It is not the accomplishment of the Northwest or the Northeast Passage, or the discovery and exploration of new lands, which tempts the adventurous to engage in enterprises of this nature. The goal before their eyes is the Pole itself. That is no longer a subsidiary, but avowedly the main, object with which a large proportion of North Polar enterprises are now organized; as first one explorer and then another have to admit defeat, and others come forward to take their places, interest in the contest deepens. In the Antarctic region the situation is different.

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There is not as yet the same anxiety to reach the South Pole as the North. At present, we possess but a scanty knowledge of even the outskirts of the South Polar area, and the exploration and scientific investigation of the fringe of the great southern continent—if continent it be—not only furnishes the serious explorer with ample opportunities for useful work, but provides abundance of food for the gratification of the curiosity, and the hunger for "records," of the general public.

In taking a brief survey of the expeditions actually operating in the Polar regions, and of prospective expeditions to those fields of exploration, it is not possible to do more than glance at each individual enterprise. In the north, Baron Ed. von Toll has not yet returned from the expedition to the New Siberian Islands, lying to the north of Eastern Siberia, on which he set out in the summer of 1900. Baron Toll purposed on this expedition to explore the northern portion of the archipelago, and to settle the question of the existence of the hypothetical Sannikoff Land. Besides himself, Baron Toll's vessel, the "Sarya," carried a competent scientific staff of some half a dozen members, and a crew of about a dozen men. During the summer of 1900, the expedition proceeded round North Cape to the Kara Sea, and thence to the western shores of the Taimyr Peninsula, where the "Sarya" passed the winter of 1900--01. It was not until near the end of August, 1901, that the "Sarya" got free from the ice and was able to make her way in the direction of the New Siberian Islands. Seal Bay, in Kotelnoi Island, was reached two or three weeks later, and there the vessel again went into winter quarters. In the summer of 1902 Baron Toll, with Mr. F. G. Seeberg, the astronomer and magnetician of the expedition, and a couple of Yakuts, left the "Sarya" with the object of making his way to the little-known Bennett Island, to the northeast of Kotelnoi. As he did not return to the vessel, and the "Sarya" was unable to make her way to Bennett Island, the main expedition was obliged to leave Baron Toll and his companions to winter alone, going itself into winter quarters in the delta of the Lena. Two relief sledge-expeditions were, however, despatched to his assistance during the past summer. According to the latest information, this search has been fruitless. From papers found on Bennett Island, it would seem that Toll left it in November, 1902, going southward. Great apprehension is entertained as to his fate.

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To the west of Baron Toll's field of operations, an American expedition, financed by the multi-millionaire, Mr. William Ziegler, is engaged in an attempt to reach the North Pole by way of the Franz-Josef Land route. This, it will be remembered, is the second expedition which Mr. Ziegler has despatched, with instructions to spare neither money nor pains in the effort to plant the Stars and Stripes on the Pole. In 1901, Mr. Evelyn Baldwin sailed north at the head of an expedition on board the "America," purposing to winter, if possible, near the 81st parallel, and to make a dash for the Pole in the summer of 1902. But from the outset failure waited on the plans of the expedition, and Mr. Baldwin deemed it advisable to return during the summer of 1902. Baffled but not beaten, Mr. Ziegler reorganized his forces, and again despatched the "America" northwards. The leader of the second expedition is Mr. Anthony Fiala, and all his subordinates are reported to be American citizens. Most of the crew are American whalers. For purposes of navigation, the ship is in charge of Captain Edward Coffin, but the second in command of the expedition is stated to be a member of the United States Geological Survey, Mr. Peters, appointed by the National Geographical Society of Washington, at Mr. Ziegler's request, to take charge of the scientific work and to act as the Society's representative. In all, the members of the expedition are some thirty-five in number. The plan seems to be, as before, to make Franz-Josef Land the base for a dash to the Pole.

In the Western Hemisphere a very interesting expedition commenced its labors last summer under the leadership of a young Norwegian explorer, Captain Roald Amundsen. Captain Amundsen was a member of the Belgian Antarctic expedition under Commander Gerlache, and whilst taking part in that enterprise conceived the idea of attempting, on his return to Europe, to organize an expedition with the object of re-locating the North Magnetic Pole, the position of which was fixed for the first time in 1831, by Commander (afterwards Sir) James Clark Ross, on the western shore of Boothia Felix, in latitude 70° 5′ N., longitude 96° 47′ W. The view that now generally finds favor is, that the position of the North Magnetic Pole is not stationary, and the series of careful magnetic observations which Captain Amundsen proposes to take in the region where Ross made his great discovery is likely to prove of considerable scientific value. The

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young Norwegian has spared no pains to qualify himself for the task, and in the summer of 1901 made a preliminary trip in the tiny ice-yacht which he has purchased, the "Gjöa," a vessel of only 47 tons register, but one of the strongest of the Norwegian Arctic whaling fleet. Dr. Nansen has spoken in the highest terms of the observations on the East Greenland current which Captain Amundsen made during this trip. The smallness of the "Gjöa" will, it is believed by many authorities, prove an advantage among the drift-ice that blocks the narrow channels which separate one from another the maze of islands, large and small, lying to the north of the North-American continent. All told, the members of the expedition number some eight men. If all has gone well, it should be now wintering on the south shore of King William Land. On the way, a party of two men is to be landed on Boothia Felix, if the observations indicate that this is still the area in which the North Magnetic Pole is situated. They will be provisioned for two years, and have the materials for establishing a magnetic observatory and for building a hut to live in. This spring, a number of sledge-expeditions are to be made from the ship, and Captain Amundsen hopes himself to fix the exact location of the Magnetic Pole. During the summer, efforts will be made to push westwards in the "Gjöa" to winter quarters on the south side of Victoria Land, and the spring of 1905 is to be devoted to the exploration of the surrounding region. In the autumn, the station on Boothia Felix will be dismantled, and thenceforward the endeavors of the expedition will be directed to forcing the Northwest Passage, which has only once been made in its entirety—and then in the reverse direction—by Captain Robert McClure, in 1850--53. Two summers, Captain Amundsen hopes, will suffice to complete his task; before the end of the year 1907 he looks forward to the satisfaction of passing through Bering Strait into the Pacific Ocean. Whether this ambitious programme will be possible of accomplishment remains to be seen. In any case, it is confidently anticipated that valuable magnetic, geographical, and other scientific work will be done by the expedition.

Of prospective expeditions in the North Polar area, perhaps the most important is that which Commander Robert E. Peary has in view. With the exception of Dr. Nansen, no Arctic explorer has to-day a reputation equal to that which Peary enjoys.

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Since 1891, he has continuously been engaged in the work of North Polar exploration, and twice on his last expedition he broke all records for the Western Hemisphere, reaching a latitude of 83° 50′, N., in 1900, and a latitude of 84° 17′, N., in 1902. Though he cannot be said to have come within measurable distance of success in his efforts to reach the Pole, Commander Peary is confident that he will yet reach his goal. The Peary Arctic Club has been reorganized for the purpose of financing the new enterprise, and it may be taken for granted that Peary will be sent north at the head of an admirably equipped expedition.

The expedition which the Canadian, Captain Bernier, is anxious to attempt to lead to the North Pole, cannot be spoken of with the same assurance. The definite announcement that Peary had obtained official leave of absence in order to renew his attempt, seemed to arouse the supporters of the Canadian project to fresh activity. At any rate, the announcement was speedily followed by a cable message from the Dominion, stating that Lord Strathcona had subscribed £1000 towards the funds of the Bernier expedition, and that the total subscriptions now amounted to £12,000, while it was hoped that a vessel would be provided by the Canadian Government. But it is nearly three years since Captain Bernier made his plans public, and sought for financial assistance in carrying them out; and it does not yet seem assured that the expedition will be ready to start this year. Captain Bernier is an energetic Canadian sailor, with no special scientific training; but he fully appreciates the importance of the scientific work to be accomplished by Arctic expeditions. Briefly, his aim is to enter the Polar ocean by way of Bering Strait, run his vessel into the ice some hundreds of miles to the east of the point where the "Fram" joined the pack, and then drift with the current. In this way he hopes that his ship will be carried farther north than was the "Fram," possibly over the Pole itself—at any rate, near enough to it to enable a party to leave the ship with a prospect of reaching the Pole over the ice.

Rumors of other prospective expeditions with the North Pole as their objective have found currency. No great importance, however, need be attached to such schemes as that brought forward by two German scientists, Dr. School and Dr. Anschulz-Kämpfe, who propose to make their way north under the ice in a submarine. Apart from these schemes, there is, of course, al-

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ways a certain amount of scientific work being done in the Arctic regions. Russians and Swedes are continually conducting investigations in Spitzbergen and Novaya Zemlya; and, though these labors may be of no particular general interest, they are not without scientific value, apart altogether from the additions that accrue to our geographical knowledge of still imperfectly known areas. In Greenland, too, the activity of the Danes is always more or less in evidence; and during the past two seasons there has been at work along the west coast an unusually interesting expedition comprising Mr. Mylius Erichsen, a well-known Danish literary man, Count Moltke, and Mr. Knud Rasmussen, who, while not neglecting geographical work where opportunity presented itself, have had for their main object the investigation of the manners, customs, beliefs and folk-lore of the Eskimo, before the mode of life and manner of thought of these people become essentially changed by contact with European civilization.

As to the comparative value of all these expeditions, it must be remembered that the problem of Arctic geography has now been solved in its main outlines; and in this connection no great discoveries, such as have resulted from earlier expeditions, are to be looked for in the future. No doubt, however, there is still much valuable, patient scientific work to be done in the North Polar regions; and, in particular, it would be of importance to get soundings of the polar seas where such observations have not yet been taken. But it is to be feared that not much is likely to be done in this respect by expeditions whose main object is to reach the Pole.

In the Antarctic region, there has been a great outburst of exploring energy during the past three years. A very few words will suffice to recall the work and position of the English National Expedition. The "Discovery" left Lyttelton, New Zealand, on Christmas Eve, 1901, pushed south through the ice-pack, and down the east coast of Victoria Land, to the edge of the great ice-barrier. Turning east, the expedition followed the barrier, passed the farthest point reached by Ross in this direction in 1842, and discovered new land which was named King Edward VII. Land. At a point in latitude 76°, S., longitude 152° 30′, W., Captain Scott deemed it advisable to retrace his steps, and the expedition returned to the neighborhood of Mounts Erebus and Terror, which were found to be

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situated on an island. Winter quarters were taken up on the south of this island, in McMurdo Bay. Valuable scientific records continued to be kept during the winter; and in September, 1902, commenced a series of excursions from the ship which resulted in the addition of a vast amount of information to our knowledge of this section of the South Polar area. On one of these excursions, Captain Scott, Lieutenant Shackleton and Dr. Wilson pushed due south and succeeded in reaching latitude 82° 17′, S., 163°, E., establishing a record for the farthest south, which beat the previous best by more than 250 miles. On his return to the "Discovery" in February, 1903, after an absence of some three months, Captain Scott found that an expedition had been sent to his assistance under the command of Captain Colbeck, on board the "Morning." Contrary to anticipation, the ice in McMurdo Bay did not break up so as to allow the "Discovery" to make her escape; and, after transferring a supply of stores and provisions to the "Discovery" from the "Morning," Captain Colbeck had to return alone to New Zealand. Now he is making his way once more to the regions south of the Antarctic Circle. The Admiralty has taken charge of the relief operations, and in company with the "Morning" has despatched to Captain Scott's assistance a second vessel, the "Terra Nova," under the command of Captain Harry Mackay. It is understood that instructions are being sent to Captain Scott to return without fail this year, bringing with him all the men under his command, whether the "Discovery" gets free from McMurdo Bay or not. This year, therefore, will in all probability see the conclusion of the National Antarctic Expedition.

The German National Expedition has already completed its labors in the South Polar area. The desire has been expressed in German geographical circles that the "Gauss" should be allowed to spend another year in the Antarctic region, for the purpose of completing its investigations; but, since the "Gauss" has been permitted to return to Europe, and is now for sale, it may perhaps be inferred that the proposal for renewing the work is not favored in official quarters. The results hitherto obtained by the German expedition have been solid rather than brilliant. The field of its operations lay to the west of that where the British expedition has been at work. It was the last day of January, 1902, before the "Gauss," which left Germany about

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a week after the "Discovery" sailed from England, reported from Kerguelen Island on the last stage of its voyage to the South Polar regions. A party was left on the island for the purpose of taking scientific observations. The "Gauss" proceeded eastwards, and in three weeks' time found herself imprisoned in the ice some miles north of the Antarctic Circle, and just west of the 90th meridian of east longitude, which is the dividing line between what geographers are agreed in calling the Victoria and Enderby Quadrants. Land lay about fifty miles to the south of this position; and, before winter finally set in, a number of sledge-expeditions were carried out in that direction. The most prominent feature in the landscape, and the objective of most of the excursions, appears to have been a bare volcanic peak, some 1200 feet in height, which received the name of Gaussberg. Magnetic, meteorological and astronomical stations were established; and, at these, valuable series of observations were recorded throughout the winter. Oceanographical and other scientific work also received careful attention. With the return of spring, towards the end of 1902, the sledging trips were renewed; but no very long journeys seem to have been made. The "Gauss" was released from her winter quarters on February 8th, 1903, and commenced to explore the region to the west; but when, just two months later, Dr. von Drygalski, the leader of the expedition, ordered the vessel to be steered clear of the ice and a course laid for Kerguelen Island, the expedition had only advanced to 79° 33′, E. longitude, and was 2′ north 65° S. If, however, the geographical discoveries of the expedition are comparatively small, the other scientific results will, no doubt, do credit to German thoroughness and accuracy and expert knowledge.

Apart from these two expeditions, the energy of South Polar explorers has been concentrated on one region—the area to the south of South America. In that section of the Antarctic field have been engaged both the Scottish and the Swedish expeditions, which complete the tale of the main body of the forces engaged in the great international assault which has been delivered on the defences of the South Pole. To the rescue of the Swedish expedition, however, were despatched, in the autumn of 1903, certain auxiliary forces—Swedish, French and Argentine,—from which a measure at least of independent work may be expected. Dr. Nordenskiöld, it will be recalled, left

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Sweden in the autumn of 1901, at the head of a scientific expedition, numbering in all some thirty members, including a competent scientific staff. Early in the new year, the "Antarctica," as Dr. Nordenskiöld's vessel was called, left Staten Island, where the Argentine Government had established a magnetic observatory which was to be worked in conjunction with the various expeditions engaged in the exploration of the South Polar area. The first Antarctic land that was sighted was King George Island, in the South Shetland group. Thence the Swedish expedition proceeded down the west coast of Louis-Philippe Land. This territory was found not to be an island, but the northern extremity of Graham Land. Proceeding north again, the expedition rounded Louis-Philippe Land and made its way down the east coast. It was found impossible, however, to push very far south; and, eventually, a wintering party, consisting of Dr. Nordenskiöld himself and five companions, including an officer of the Argentine navy, was landed on the shores of Admiralty Inlet, in Snow-Hill Land, south of Cockburn Island, just south of the 64th parallel. On February 21st, 1902, the "Antarctica" left the wintering station, which was provisioned for eighteen months, and made her way north to Tierra del Fuego, and thence to the Falkland Islands, where at Port Stanley she was joined at the end of March by Dr. J. Gunnar Andersson, the acting scientific commander of the expedition during Dr. Nordenskiöld's absence. During the winter, valuable scientific work was carried out in the South Georgia Islands, among the Falkland group, and between the latter islands and Tierra del Fuego. In November, 1902, the "Antarctica" proceeded south once more *via* the South Shetland Islands, on her way to Snow-Hill Land. News of her return, with Dr. Nordenskiöld and his companions on board, was expected at the end of February or early in March, 1903, but the Antarctic summer came to a close, and winter set in without any news of the expedition being received. In these circumstances, though no very serious alarm was felt for the safety of the Swedish explorers, the duty of despatching a search expedition became incumbent on the Swedish Government, and in the middle of August last the "Frithjof," under the command of Captain Gylden, left Stockholm, bound for the Antarctic lands and seas which Dr. Nordenskiöld had selected as the field of his operations. As has already been indicated, however, French and Ar-

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gentine expeditions were also organized with the object, in part at any rate, of rendering Dr. Nordenskiöld and his companions such assistance as they might be found to be in need of.

Special interest attached to the Argentine expedition. It was decidedly a national enterprise. The vessel of the expedition, the "Uruguay," was a gunboat of the Argentine navy, was commanded by an officer of the Argentine navy, Commander Irizar, and was despatched at the expense of the Government. In more ways than one, the Argentine Government had rendered substantial assistance to the Swedish expedition; and, apart altogether from the fact that an Argentine officer was among Dr. Nordenskiöld's companions, the expedition under Commander Irizar is a proof of a newly awakened interest on the part of the republic in the exploration of the lands and seas which lie to the south of its territories. No pains were spared to ensure the success of the expedition. Commander Irizar, who was Naval Attaché to the Argentine Legation in London, sought the best advice he could get regarding the equipment of the "Uruguay" and had several interviews with Lieutenant Shackleton, of the British Antarctic expedition.

It is a matter for satisfaction that the Argentine Republic, in this, its initial enterprise in South Polar exploration, should have had the reward of effecting the rescue of the Swedish expedition. Starting south before either the French or the Swedish relief expedition commenced the real search, Commander Irizar found, on reaching Louis-Philippe Land, that the "Antarctica" had been crushed by the ice in Erebus and Terror Gulf, on the northeast coast of Louis-Philippe Land, early in 1903. Two members of the staff, without provision or equipment of any kind, wintered on a desolate island, while the rest of those on board had to spend the winter on another island. The two parties were ignorant of each other's fate, and Dr. Nordenskiöld knew nothing of what had happened till both parties turned up at Snow-Hill just as the "Uruguay" arrived to rescue the expedition. Fortunately Commander Irizar found all the members of the expedition safe, with the exception of one sailor who died subsequent to the loss of the vessel, and all were carried on board the "Uruguay" back to the Argentine Republic, whence they reached Europe in January. Dr. Nordenskiöld made several sledge expeditions, one from Snow-Hill Land in a southwesterly direction, reaching the 66th

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parallel and making considerable additions to our knowledge of the geography of the region. Important series of scientific observations were also made during the long period of upwards of eighteen months that a station was established at Snow-Hill Land. Numerous soundings were taken and valuable collections were made, though, unfortunately, most of these were lost in the "Antarctica." Violent gales were experienced during nearly the whole period, and some remarkably low temperatures were noted.

The "Uruguay" was provisioned for two years, and the programme of the Argentine expedition included, besides the relief of Dr. Nordenskiöld and his companions, the scientific exploration of the lands and seas to the south of South America, where though much has been done, much more remains to be done. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the "Uruguay" will again make her way south, but on this point nothing is yet known. A similar remark applies to the Swedish relief expedition. The object Captain Gylden had in view was, of course, primarily the rescue of his compatriots. But he also was prepared to carry out independent scientific work, during the open season of 1903--4 at any rate. He himself is Professor of Hydrography at the Norwegian naval school, and the "Frithjof" was specially manned and equipped with a view to the recording of scientific observations. The "Frithjof" visited the scene of the wreck of the "Antarctica," but found no trace of the vessel; she is, no doubt, now carrying out her scientific work.

As to the French expedition on board the "Français," under Dr. Jean Charcot, the relief of Dr. Nordenskiöld was only an incidental part of its programme. It was originally intended that the expedition should operate in the North Polar area. National pride, however, demanded that France should not stand on one side when so many other nationalities were engaging in the work of South Polar exploration. Half the funds of the expedition have been provided by Dr. Charcot himself, contributions have been voted by the French Chambers and the Municipal Council of Paris, and the balance has been provided by public subscription. The expedition has been organized by a committee of which the Prince of Monaco is one of the members, and the second in command is Commander Gerlache, formerly leader of the Belgian Antarctic expedition, though according to latest accounts Captain Gerlache and a member of the scientific staff have

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quarrelled with Dr. Charcot and left the expedition. The field in which the French expedition will operate is the region between the areas in which the British and Swedish expeditions have been at work—that is, the region west of Graham Land and east of Ross's great ice-barrier. A careful examination will be made of the inlets of the coast, for the purpose of selecting winter quarters, to which a retreat will be made in the first half of March. In the southern spring of 1904, and summer of 1904-5, further exploring expeditions will be made, while varied scientific work will be carried out continuously.

It remains only to add a word with reference to the Scottish expedition. This is under the command of Mr. W. S. Bruce, who is assisted in the scientific work by a competent staff of half a dozen trained observers. The vessel, the "Scotia," a Norwegian whaler rechristened and practically reconstructed, is in charge of Captain Thomas Robertson, who has had long experience both in Antarctic and, particularly, in Arctic seas. Oceanography and meteorology are the branches of work to which the expedition is devoting special attention. Originally, it was intended that the expedition should strike south from the Sandwich Islands, which lie some thirty degrees of longitude east of the scene of the labors of the Swedish expedition. But, like most other expeditions, the Scottish enterprise was late in starting, and January, 1903, was approaching its close before the "Scotia" left the Falkland Islands. News of the return of the expedition to Buenos Aires was received in the middle of December. Mr. Bruce reports a rich harvest of results. The "Scotia" did not winter in a high southern latitude, finding quarters in the South Orkney Islands. But in the voyage made by the vessel before a wintering station was established, a wide area was covered, and the expedition reached latitude 70° 25′ South. The results of the expedition confirm the researches of Sir James Clark Ross in the same region. Among the scientific investigations carried out, the oceanographical work stands out very prominent. Four thousand miles of unexplored ocean were hydrographically surveyed, and in one spot a depth of 2700 fathoms was recorded. The expedition has not, however, yet concluded its labors, and additional funds having been procured the "Scotia" has again proceeded southward, with an addition to its staff of four Argentine scientific experts.

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And now, briefly, what is likely to be the net result of this great outburst of exploring energy in the South Polar area? East and west and south of the great ice-barrier, the British expedition has made extensive discoveries: and German, Swedish, Scottish, French and Argentine explorations should add largely to our knowledge of the region south of South America. But, while there is no occasion to depreciate the extent and importance of the work which has been and will be accomplished during the campaign now in progress, it must be admitted that when all the forces at present in the field have withdrawn from the contest we shall still have an imperfect idea of the configuration of the great southern continent, if continent it be. If the circle round be taken, the work of the English National Expedition, so far as yet known, extends roughly over fifty degrees of longitude, from 160°, E., past 180°, to 150°, W., that is, about one-seventh of the circle. The German expedition covered only some ten degrees of longitude, roughly from 90°, E., to 80°, E., while the crowd of expeditions south of Cape Horn will do well if they explore the whole of the region, say an eighth of the circle, between the Sandwich Islands, east of the 30th meridian of west longitude, and Alexander I. Land, west of the 70th meridian. In other words, the investigations of the National Expedition extend over rather less than a third of the Ross Quadrant, and a still smaller section of the Victoria Quadrant; the "Gauss" covered, in the exploring stage of her long voyage, about a tenth of the Enderby Quadrant; and Swedish, Scottish, French and Argentine expeditions will probably explore from a quarter to a half of the Weddell Quadrant. But, while there are still vast stretches of Antarctic lands and seas which invite the attention of the explorer in search of new fields to conquer, while relatively our knowledge of the South Polar area is still extremely small, actually much has been done. Captain Scott and his companions have performed a brilliant piece of exploring work, giving character to large spaces on the map that formerly were blank; and all the expeditions have garnered, or are garnering, a rich harvest of scientific observations, which cannot fail to be of great theoretical importance and, it is hoped, of some practical value.

J. Scott Keltie.

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ELASTICITY AND SOUND BANKING.

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FROM 1897 to 1901, the promotion of enterprise which promised large return on capital ventured was the dominant thought. In the language of President McKinley, these were "times of appalling prosperity." Coincident with the sale of securities based on speculative estimates of future income, was an enormous expansion of credit—*i.e.*, dealings on promises or contracts for the future delivery of money. Speculative securities were used as a basis for bank-credits; bank-credits in turn were used to make larger purchases of materials; the commodity market, bounding to a new and higher price level, gave larger book-profits, which again were reflected in judgments of increased valuation of resources, as a basis for a still further expanding credit. The prominent feature of what we came to know as "prosperity" was a remarkable swelling of the asset side of the balance-sheet.

In 1901, conditions began to be reversed. Many of the promises made for prospective large gains in income from speculative venture remained unfulfilled, and a more conservative judgment began to scale former estimates of valuation. The asset side of the balance-sheet of the buying public began to shrink, while liabilities in the form of credit, by the very nature of contracts made, continued to increase. It was this latter condition that revived the demand for elasticity.

There are two ways in which credit liabilities may be met, viz: by "payment" and by "settlement." *Payment* is the satisfaction of a credit-*obligation* by delivery of the amount of money contracted for. *Settlement* is the satisfaction of a contract for future delivery by a new contract or acceptance, in lieu of de-

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livery or payment. Ability to *pay* depends on the ownership or possession of money, or something which may be converted into cash, for delivery when the credit-contract is due and demand is made; ability to *settle* depends on the power of the one obligated to offer something which will be acceptable to the creditor in lieu of legal-tender money.

In campaigns for currency and banking reform, these two methods of satisfaction of credit-demands have been the first premises of two opposing schools of financial thinking. Recurring periods of relapse from speculative excess, cycles of decreasing assets and proportionately increasing liabilities, have caused issue to be joined between them. The school which have pleaded for reform based on ability to *pay,* have styled their argument a plea for financial "soundness." The school which have urged measures for *settlement,* without being required to fulfil their contracts for future delivery of money, have been characterized by their opponents as "inflationists." But, whatever may be chosen as terms to properly represent these two financial creeds, it must be recognized that each is an attempt to solve the problem of liquidation—the one, by the introduction of methods which will insure a larger proportion of assets to credit issued, the other, by a provision for new issues of credit liabilities to meet those already outstanding. It may be further observed that, in all of these contests, the one school have stood for the strict fulfilment of existing contracts, and have sought to protect business against the evil of *future* excesses of credit-issue, while the other have sought to obtain relief from a *present* emergency, arising out of demands made for the delivery of money on existing contracts of credit.

In 1893-6, attempt was made to solve the problem of liquidation by establishing 371.5 grains of silver as the standard for payment of existing liabilities and for the valuation of assets. With the price of silver as it then stood, this device would at once have doubled the proportion of assets to credit liabilities, and would have made liquidation easy. Two successive political campaigns recorded victory for the gold standard; and all future doubt as to the ability of the Government to liquidate its credit-money obligations, by *payment* according to the standard, was set at rest by *increasing the assets* of the Government available to meet gold demands. These questions are now considered settled, but a new

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period of liquidation brings with it a similar controversy with respect to the credit-accounts of commercial banks. On questions of public policy, opinion is again divided between the same schools, representing the same ideals that have contested for supremacy throughout the last two centuries.

A restatement of their respective demands may lend clearness to the presentation of contending faiths. To give greater facility to the liquidation of bank-credit liabilities, the one school argue: (1) For authority to issue new promissory notes in *settlement* of credit-accounts outstanding; (2) for a first lien on the general assets of the bank to secure the ultimate *payment* of these notes; (3) for the abolition of the Sub-Treasury; (4) for the "deposit" of all revenues of the Government in the commercial banks, without collateral security; (5) for the right of banks to establish branches, without requiring a proportionate increase of capital-reserves to liabilities.

The arguments offered in support of these several demands are in brief as follows: (1) That authority to issue notes will relieve the banks from the necessity of obtaining legal-tender money for delivery in time of unusual demand for liquidation of bank-credit, and will thus relieve extraordinary pressure on the money market; (2) that a first lien on the general assets of the bank to secure the ultimate *payment* of notes issued in *settlement* of outstanding credit-accounts, will keep the bank-note as "sound" as the issues of the Government, and will protect it as well as if secured by a deposit of Government bonds; (3) that the abolition of the Sub-Treasury system will prevent money being abstracted from the regular channels of trade when there is a surplus of Government revenue over expenditure; (4) that by "depositing" the revenues of the Government with the commercial banks, these "deposits" may be used to support still larger volumes of credit-accounts, and increase the available funds of the community; (5) that by a system of branch-banking, capital will be given greater "fluidity,"—*i.e.*, the money of the bank may flow from one part of the country to another as it may be needed.

Answering these contentions, the other school of banking opinion urge that all this is a plea directed towards weakening the capital-resources of the banks on the one hand, and for permission to avoid *payment* of credit-accounts outstanding on the other. Further enlarging on these views, they argue that authorization to

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issue new notes in *settlement* of demands for delivery of money made on account, is a means of avoiding *payment,* and in its effect not only prevents such a readjustment of assets to liabilities as is necessary to sound banking, but tends toward a still larger inflation of credit, at the very time when assets are being scaled by the exercise of more conservative judgments of valuation—*i.e.,* when their ability to convert assets into cash for delivery on credit-demands is being reduced. It is also pointed out that the security offered for note-issues, in the form of a lien on the general assets, not only decreases the need of capital-resources, but at the same time tends to weaken still further the support to bank credit-accounts—the kind of funds in most general use,—and to weaken public confidence in the whole banking system. They urge that the Sub-Treasury, instead of being an element of weakness, is an element of strength in two ways: *first,* by segregating the public funds, the necessity for larger bank capitalization is increased; and, *second,* by storing up an independent reserve in time of low money-demand, an independent money-reserve is at hand which may be made available to the banks in time of monetary strain. In support of this last contention, they point to the wholesome influence of the Sub-Treasury in the recent disturbances, such as the Baltimore and St. Louis panics, at which times the bank situation might have proved disastrous to the business of the whole country, had it not been for the aid of the Government.

As to the so-called "deposits" of Government moneys in the banks, they show that these are nothing more or less than loans to the banks without interest. In this relation, it is further urged that the only reason why any one should purchase a bank-account is to obtain funds for current use in a form more convenient than money; that the only need of the Government for such funds is represented in the accounts of disbursing officers—about $6,000,000. They hold, therefore, that the ever-increasing loans of the Government to the banks (at present amounting to about $170,000,000) put a premium on their relying on the paternal support of the Treasury, instead of depending on their own capital-resources for the cash needed in the liquidation of their own accounts—*i.e.,* for money reserves. Again, it is urged that the demand for branch-banking is inspired by this same motive—the desire for still further lessening the capital cost of doing business, which, if accomplished, would result in again

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weakening the need for capital contributions by the stockholding proprietors of banking corporations.

This second school would secure elasticity in quite another way. Their first principle is expressed by Mr. James G. Cannon, who says:

> "Bankers sometimes plead for more elastic currency, but what is needed is more elasticity of the assets of the bank; what is wanted are *assets* that are readily convertible into cash in time of panic, which will *pay* depositors, and at the same time permit new loans."

This statement sets out in strong relief the irreconcilable premises of the two classes of thinkers; the one urging a right to *increase liabilities* still further when their assets are inadequate to support outstanding demand-credit; the other urging *an increase in the capital-assets*—those assets readily convertible into cash without curtailing loans.

According to the manner of thinking of this latter school, the purpose of capitalization of a bank (as in all other business enterprises) is to provide the funds necessary to procure permanent equipment. The financial process called "capitalization" is the creation of a permanent fund for permanent use. The reason for obtaining funds for permanent equipment by capitalization, is to avoid the necessity of constantly seeking temporary relief in refunding a need which is continuous. The permanent need of a commercial banking institution is a need for money, or other assets readily convertible into money, as a means of supporting outstanding credit-accounts to customers.

The business of banking is that of furnishing "current-funds" to its customers, in the form of non-interest-bearing credit of the bank. The customer obtains these credit-funds by exchanging for them his own interest-bearing notes, or other forms of bankable assets. The earnings of a bank are chiefly derived from using these non-interest-bearing credit obligations to purchase good commercial paper at a discount or at interest. The amount of earnings depends, in large measure, on the amount of good commercial paper the bank is able to buy with its credit-accounts—*i.e.*, profits depend on the amount of credit-accounts (so-called "deposits") purchased by customers for use as current-funds by means of their own interest-bearing obligations.

The capitalization of banks, therefore, should be sufficient to support and protect their credit-purchases of all good commercial

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paper offered by customers, and when present equipment is inadequate to do this the demand should be met by increased capitalization or the organization of new banks. In other words, the bank should stand ready at all times to purchase all good paper offered by those who carry so-called deposits, and they should have capital-resources large enough to meet all demands for money on the credit-accounts so created and issued to customers, without restricting or rediscounting loans. *Capitalization* should be sufficient to meet every *money-demand* on the credit business done.

If there were no variations in the amount of credit used, then a money equipment large enough to meet the constant money-demands on credit-issues, pending voluntary liquidation of loans and discounts, would be the amount of equipment needed. But the fluctuations of demands for current bank-credit are wide; the money-demands are always a variable quantity. They come from the shifting prosperity of customers; they come also from the fluctuating demands of ordinary business in the community from season to season. It is found by experience, however, that the demands for current-funds (*i.e.*, the amount of good commercial paper and other bankable assets offered to the bank in exchange for accounts), varies with considerable regularity. In highly mercantile communities, the experience of a bank may show a recurring ebb and flow of credit four times a year—the largest demands coming semi-monthly; in certain agricultural communities, there is a rise and fall twice per year; in others, as in the Cotton States and in parts of Canada, the loans and accounts cumulate and are reduced by voluntary liquidation only once in twelve months. There is, therefore, in the experience of banks in different communities a definite basis for a close approximation to capital equipment needs. The amount of capital needed under such circumstances, unless the bank intends regularly to shift the burden by rediscount, is an amount that will provide a safe money-reserve for the support of the largest volume of credit-accounts (so-called "deposits") carried during the year.

No greater fallacy ever existed in banking circles, however, than the one so often employed—that a certain percentage of "cash" to "deposits" is the only equipment necessary to sound banking. This form of reasoning has led to strange results. In time of minimum money-demand, the money-reserves are allowed to run low in proportion. By assuming that this is the only form of

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equipment needed, the bank has no resources from which more money may be realized when demands are larger, except by calling in loans or restricting accommodations.

The wide variations of demands for money made from time to time on the accounts of customers make two forms of equipment advantageous, viz.: (1) a legal-tender "money-reserve" of such amount as will enable the bank to meet all *ordinary* money-demands; (2) an "invested capital-reserve" which will produce an investment revenue when money-demands are *small,* but which may readily be converted into cash to meet *extraordinary* money-demands, without forcing the bank to sell its commercial paper assets or call in its loans.

By those who advocate a system of "banking on the capital-resources of the bank," it is urged that there are two ways of realizing on "unencumbered capital investments," viz.: (1) They may be *sold* for cash, and the proceeds of the sale added to the "money-reserves," or (2) they may be *hypothecated* in time of need, thus at once obtaining the desired cash and retaining an equity of redemption in the investment. Of these two methods, hypothecation is the best form of conversion to meet pressing demands, as there may be a loss of invested principal on forced sales even where the investment is in United States bonds. Sales, on the other hand, are the better forms of conversion when a favorable market is found—*i.e.,* for the gradual conversion of assets to permanently increase the amount of capital-resources carried in the form of money-reserve. Since elasticity depends on the ability of the bank to obtain money to meet sudden demands or to support a sudden increase in customers' accounts, the principle of elasticity will best be served by investing the surplus capital-resources of the bank in a form of assets that may be readily *hypothecated,* and in keeping these investments unencumbered. This last feature cannot be too much emphasized; the "invested reserve," to be available for any purpose (by sale or by hypothecation), must remain *unencumbered.*

Proceeding from an ideal of capital-resources (in the forms of money-reserves and of investments convertible into cash) adequate to meet all demands for *payment* on credit-accounts outstanding, this second school have a very different programme of reform and elasticity to propose: (1) They would maintain the Sub-Treasury system in its integrity, for the same reasons which

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led to its foundation, viz., to compel the banks to do business on their own capital; and if at any time the surplus-money-reserve becomes too large, it is urged that this may be corrected by payment of Government obligations or by reduction of revenue. (2) They would give to the banks a note-issue privilege, as a means of providing increased facilities for the *hypothecation* of the "invested reserve"; but they would require that the banks receive notes from the Government only on the condition of satisfactory collateral deposited—the same condition as would be imposed if they were applying to a Clearing-House for an issue of Clearing-House certificates, to tide over an emergency. (3) As an inducement to adjustment of the volume of credit business to the capitalization provided for its support, they would require that interest be paid on these issues, somewhat above the usual commercial rate, as is the custom of Clearing-Houses. (4) In time of panic, they would strengthen the financial situation by making the Government surplus available to banks through the hypothecation of unencumbered capital-resources, again charging a rate of interest adequate to force the bank back on its own resources as soon as the extraordinary emergency had passed. (5) They would take away from the banks the privilege of loaning (selling) their money to other banks and of still counting this as a part of their money-reserve; by a repeal of the "reserve-deposit" clause of the present law, it is pointed out, the banks would be made still further to rely upon their own capital, as they would be required to invest their surplus money-reserves in capital-resources convertible into cash, without shifting the money-demand on their reserve again, causing them to restrict their credit-accommodations to customers. (6) They would erect a permanent fund for the insurance of customers'-accounts, by cumulating the income derived from the tax on issues and from interest on Government loans.

These proposals are based on the notion that the most important class of funds to be protected is the bank account—the class of funds with which over ninety per cent. of our business is transacted; that the capitalization should be adequate to protect these as well as such notes as may be issued, and that, in so far as notes are issued, they should be regarded as emergency issues of the Government made through the banks to meet the relatively small fluctuating commercial need for money, as a basis for which the

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bank should provide capital-assets. They contend that the "loans and discounts" should not be encumbered for the security of notes, but that, on the other hand, when loans are paid to the bank, the fund thus created should be available to liquidate credit-accounts outstanding; that, in addition to having "money-reserves," "unencumbered capital-resources" and the "loans and discounts" to support its outstanding credit-accounts, the interest and taxes paid by the bank on loans (secured by hypothecation of capital resources as a means of obtaining cash to protect its reserves, when securities owned cannot be *sold* to advantage) should go to create a common fund to insure the credit-accounts sold by the banks to the community for current use in business. With such a system of "banking on the capital-assets of the bank," it is conceived that our credit-funds would have an elasticity adequate to meet every extraordinary demand, and that it would be as sound as the gold-standard currency of the Government.

The present contest for sound banking is but a logical sequence of national experience and sound political reasoning. It is a known fact that the amount of money needed and actually used in business is almost constant. The fluctuation for any period of three months (the longest period for which arrangements are usually made for current-funds), has been less than five per cent. from the gradually increasing mean, or average, money supply. Mr. Ridgely recently pointed out that, of this amount (which at present is something over $2,700,000,000), from fifty-three to fifty-five per cent. was constantly in circulation among the people; while from forty-five to forty-seven per cent. is regularly held in the vaults of the banks and of the Treasury. The annual expenses of national Government amount to about $500,000,000. As a means of providing current-funds for its use, it is estimated that at least $100,000,000, or twenty per cent., should be kept on hand as available cash. Besides this amount, the Government by law is required to keep $150,000,000 in gold as a money-reserve for the redemption of about $1,200,000,000 of its credit-money-issues outstanding; this, in turn, by the law of May 14, 1900, is supported by a first lien on all moneys in the general fund in the Treasury, by a first lien on all revenues, and by the ability of the Government to obtain gold through bond sales.

From thirty-two to thirty-three per cent. of the total money in use is in the vaults of the banks for the support of some $9,000,-

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000,000 of credit-accounts. It has long been a settled conclusion in American thought, that the money of the country can be best protected in its physical and financial integrity by the Treasury—an institution organized to protect the public welfare, instead of being conducted for private gain. For the fluctuating money demand it has been recognized, however, that some provision should be made, and that this can best be done through those private commercial institutions where the demand is first felt. It is with respect to this fluctuating demand only, that an elastic medium is needed. But since the need is one of protecting the credit-accounts which the banks have sold to the community for profit, the conclusion seems to be a sound one that the banks should deal with the Government for the issue of this elastic medium, and that they should provide themselves with the capital-resources to make this money as sound as any other portion of the currency. It would further seem logical that, in granting to the banks such power to deal with the Government for money supply, they should not be allowed to impair the safety of the enormous issue of credit-accounts which they have sold to the public for current-funds. The banks have been permitted to engage in the business of selling credit-funds to the community for profit; the Government should require of them the same measure of public safety, by way of sound banking equipment, that it does in mining operations, transportation, manufacture, or other enterprise conducted for private gain.

FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND.

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ANTI-CANTEEN LEGISLATION AND THE ARMY

BY C. E. LITTLEFIELD, MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

On the second day of February, 1901, the following provision of the statute became the law of the land:

"Section 38. The sale of or dealing in beer, wine, or any intoxicating liquor by any person in any post-exchange or canteen or army transport, or upon any premises used for military purposes by the United States, is hereby prohibited. The Secretary of War is hereby directed to carry the provision of this section into full force and effect."

This is what has come to be popularly, though inaccurately, known as the "anti-canteen law." It is obviously not aimed against the Canteen, but against the sale of prohibited beverages in the Canteen or Post Exchange, and it cannot in any proper sense be called the "anti-canteen law."

It was drawn and introduced by me as an amendment, in the House, on December 6th, 1900. In advocating its adoption, I said, among other things:

"Briefly, as to the propriety of the amendment, I am fully aware that there is great difference of opinion, and an honest difference of opinion, as to the wisdom and propriety of this amendment."

I think this assertion still holds good, notwithstanding the somewhat virulent and offensive tone adopted in discussing its merits, by those opposed to the legislation.

Major Seaman says it is "unrighteous to give the Army Post Exchange the name of Canteen," and he thinks it would not have been abolished if it had not been so called; but, during a long article, he commits the same "unrighteous" offence by referring repeatedly to the Canteen as having been "abolished." On account of this general misapprehension, and for the sake of clear-

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ness and convenience, the term "Canteen" will be used in this article as meaning that part of the Post Exchange where beer is sold, and the term "anti-canteen" as meaning the Post Exchange where no beer is sold. This legislation will stand, I have no doubt, until a full opportunity shall have been given, under proper conditions, by practical operation, to demonstrate its wisdom or unwisdom.

Every one of whom I have any knowledge, no matter what his preconceived theories may be upon the general question of the use and abuse of liquor as a beverage, is not only entirely willing, but expects, that it shall stand or fall by this test. A vigorous effort is being made to satisfy the public, that this test has been made, and that the legislation has proved a failure. A candid examination of the facts will show that this effort must meet with failure.

Among the most pretentious contributions to this discussion are articles by Major Louis Livingston Seaman and Colonel William Conant Church in the numbers for January and December, 1903, respectively, of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. These articles derive, perhaps, an especial significance from the fact that the writers, by reason of their official character and profession, assume to have special and peculiar knowledge of the subject, and therefore the right to speak with authority. In addition to this, they have another advantage over the mere civilian. Article 66 of section 1342 of the Revised Statutes of the United States provides, that "any officer who is convicted of conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman shall be dismissed from the service." That is, they are required by law, not necessarily to be gentlemen (as to which there may be a very profound distinction), but to "conduct" themselves as gentlemen. I believe that these officers are the only persons, in or out of the government service, who are the objects of this degree of statutory solicitude. When they engage in polemical discourse, it would obviously be characterized on their part, under the law, by treating their adversaries with a degree of politeness, courtesy and elevation of tone exceeding that of the civilian controversialist. How well they sustain the part appears by a few characteristic references to the persons who are unfortunate enough to believe in this legislation, and therefore lie under the ban of their displeasure.

Colonel Church makes these pleasant references to them:

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"A small but most persistent and vociferous body of theorists who have no concern with the Army, nor interest in it, beyond making it the victim of their hobbies." . . . . "A mistaken sentiment, which, having reached certain dogmatic conclusions by the studious ignoring of facts. . . ."

"And it should be conclusive with all, except those determined not to be convinced though one rose from the dead to bear testimony to the truth."

"Now that they have accomplished their purpose, they appear to have wrapped about them the cloak of self-righteous content and left the Army to care for itself, bound hand and foot by the restrictions they have placed upon it."

"Glowing with the ardor of self-appreciative virtue."

"Those who were about as familiar with soldiers and the life of the Army as they were with the habits of the dodo."

Major Seaman quotes with evident approval, in referring to the opponents of the Canteen, this cheerful and pleasing observation:

"We alone are virtuous. We are the advocates of reform. We are the great hypocritical hippodrome—none like us."

The tone of their articles must obviously be attributed to enthusiasm and zeal, and not to ill temper, much less ill breeding. It may be that the analysis that I will make of their articles will give rise to the suspicion that they have perhaps mistaken these assertions for argument and demonstration.

What purpose does the Canteen seek to accomplish, and how does it propose to effect it from the standpoint of its advocates? Its purposes are twofold:

First, it furnished, it is claimed, a counter attraction to the saloon that is maintained near the Post, where all kinds of liquor are sold, and by satisfying by the milder and, so-called, less harmful drinks of beer and light wines, the craving for vicious stimulants, becomes the lesser of two evils, as "its advocates frankly admit that the total abolition of intoxicants in the Army is a desideratum devoutly to be wished;" its second purpose is explained in the following quotations:*

"Its *primary purpose* was to furnish to the troops, at reasonable price, such articles, the articles of ordinary use, wear and consumption, not supplied by the government, and to afford them means of rational rec-

* Wherever italics appear in quotations, they are the work of the writer of this article.

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reation and amusement suitable to their station in life, which, if denied, they would seek outside the limits of the camp." (SEAMAN.)

"The Post Exchange or Canteen is an enlisted man's club, supported by the profits on the articles purchased at wholesale for sale to its members at retail; and its prosperity depends, as does that of all similar organizations, upon its being made acceptable to those for whom it is intended, so that they will patronize it liberally instead of going abroad for their purchases. *So far as its resources permit,* it is provided with newspapers and periodicals, with games and various forms of amusement and entertainment, *and made so attractive that men of the garrison will have the least possible temptation to seek for recreation and good fellowship in quarters where they are subject to influences that tend to demoralize and degrade them, and to make them forgetful of the duty they owe as soldiers.*" (CHURCH.)

"Every enlisted man in the garrison is a stockholder in it, and from it, when it is a success, he obtains the benefits which promote cheerful endurance of hardship, make him more content with his lot, and thus a better soldier and a better citizen. At the Post Exchange the soldier can buy at a minimum cost, articles of luxury not included in the government ration, liberal as it is, for it is impossible so to adapt the ration in all respects to individual tastes that it shall not become monotonous." (CHURCH.)

A place, then, of amusement, recreation and entertainment, where articles necessary to the comfort and convenience of the soldier can be purchased, is the dominant, salient and "*primary purpose*" of the Post Exchange. The sale of beer and light wines is the incident only, the lesser evil, to be eliminated if possible. This "incident," however, is the chief among the "resources" of the Canteen, as appears from the following official advice:

"APRIL *27, 1903.*

"*Hon. Charles E. Littlefield, M.C., Rockland, Me.*

"SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant to the Secretary of War, in which you ask to be advised as to whether, after the passage of the act prohibiting the sale of beer and light wines at Post Exchanges" (there were never any "intoxicating liquors" sold in these establishments), "the Post Exchange was discontinued as a cooperative store and as a place of amusement and entertainment, or whether the only change that was made in the Post Exchange system by the enactment of the law was simply the elimination of the sale of beer and wines therefrom, and with that exception the Exchange was continued as before in every other respect as a place for amusement and entertainment, general store, etc. You add that you have received an impression that, without the aid of the profits received from the sale of beer and wines, it is thought difficult and perhaps impracticable to operate the Exchange for any other purpose.

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"Replying thereto, permit me to say that the exact status of all Post Exchanges in the Army from latest reports is to be found in H. R. Doc. 252, 57th Cong., 2nd Ses., which contains official reports from every Post in the Army. From these reports it will be seen that, of the several hundred Post Exchanges in the United States and the Philippines at the time of the passage of the act, February 2nd, 1901, but very few remain, and that in the majority of cases, it has been found difficult and *impracticable* to operate the Post Exchange *without the profits received from the sale of beer and light wines.*

"Very respectfully,

"HENRY P. MCCAIN,

"Acting Adjutant-General."

This, I have no doubt, fairly states the importance of the profits ensuing from the sale of beer and light wines as the main "resource" of the Canteen, and it appears that without this "resource" it is practically impossible to maintain the primary features of the Canteen, such as recreation, amusement and entertainment.

It follows, then, that where there is no drinking of beer there is no recreation, amusement or entertainment, and the more drinking of beer, the more recreation, amusement and entertainment, and the more variety for the mess. Under the régime heretofore existing, as "every enlisted man is a stockholder in it" and participates equally in the advantages resulting therefrom, the men are naturally expected to contribute their share at least to the producing cause. Emerson truly said: "That is the one base thing in the universe, to receive benefits and render none." The total abstainer, while participating in the benefits derived from these profits, as he necessarily must, would be reaping where he had not sown, and this itself would furnish a powerful and insidious incentive to universal beer-drinking by the soldiers. In fact, the total abstainer was not infrequently taunted with his failure thus to contribute.

It will be seen that all of the considerations involved in this scheme, appetite, financial needs, pleasure, etc., tend inevitably to the universal and increasing consumption of beer and light wines.

The inquiry at once arises, Why cannot the "primary purpose" of the Canteen be accomplished by supplying the funds necessary therefor from sources other than the deprecated profits from the sale of beer, and thus eliminate the lesser evil?

The possibility of such an alternative does not appear to have

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occurred to either Major Seaman or Colonel Church, surcharged as they are with information on this question. Colonel Church does say:

"If we could have at or near each Army Post such a building as that located near the Brooklyn Navy Yard, which owes its existence chiefly to the generosity of a single individual, Miss Helen Gould, it might lessen the demand for the Canteen."

Yet it is a fact that, at the time when the Colonel, who is disturbed "by the studious ignoring of facts" by anti-canteen advocates, wrote his article, $1,000,000 ($500,000 available for the fiscal year 1902--3, and $500,000 for the fiscal year 1903--4) had been appropriated for that express purpose, under a clause reading as follows:

"*Post Exchanges.* For the construction, equipment, and maintenance of suitable buildings at military posts and stations for the conduct of the post exchange, school, library, reading, lunch and amusement rooms, and gymnasium, to be expended in the discretion and under the direction of the Secretary of War."

The first appropriation of $500,000 was made June 30th, 1902. While the effect of these appropriations upon the situation is not yet apparent, for reasons that hereafter appear, they provide for buildings precisely like that mentioned, not "at or near" but *in* the Army Posts, and it is conceded that they "*might* lessen the demand for the Canteen."

The American Public Health Association in September, 1901, by resolution invited "the intelligent cooperation of a very large element of good citizens . . . in taking successive steps toward the betterment of existing conditions, and thus assist in controlling and largely curtailing an evil which it is powerless at present to prevent."

And its committee urged that:

"The sale of soft drinks, warm lunches, coffee, tea, cocoa, bouillon, and soups should be encouraged, as substitutes for alcoholic beverages."

This has the approval of Colonel Church, and is precisely what this appropriation is intended to accomplish. The distinguished Major and Colonel are making their appeal to the public, and the public are entitled to know all the facts involved, and especially a factor so important that it "*might* lessen the demand for the

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Canteen." They either knew, or they didn't know, of these appropriations (only one had been made when Major Seaman's article appeared). If they knew, they simply suppressed an essential fact. If they didn't know, they simply demonstrate their deplorable ignorance of a subject as to which they assume to speak with ultimate authority, as these facts were obvious to the most cursory examination, so that he that "runs may read." That the anti-canteen legislation, in the absence of the assistance to be derived from these appropriations, is not expected to reach anything approximating the maximum of success hoped for and expected, is too obvious for discussion.

These appropriations will take the place of the profits from the sale of beer, and it is the expectation that they will accomplish that purpose and contribute to the "desideratum devoutly to be wished," . . . "the total abolition of intoxicants in the Army." This is the laudable purpose that has led the distinguished chairman of the Military Affairs Committee in the House, the Hon. J. A. T. Hull, of Iowa, to work earnestly and successfully for these appropriations that are indispensable, if the measure is to prove a success. It is only proper to add that Senator Proctor, the acting chairman of the Military Affairs Committee in the Senate, has been an earnest advocate of these appropriations, and the membership of both committees, both of the majority and minority parties, laudably sustained their efforts.

These are the first appropriations of the kind that have ever been made. They were introduced in the Senate and successfully urged by Senator Hansbrough, a loyal and effective supporter of this policy. It necessarily follows that, until they shall have been generally utilized throughout the Army, as generally, at least, as was the Canteen, we can have no condition or period with which the Canteen period can be compared with any propriety or intelligence.

In addition to this appropriation, another should be made for a company-fund, in order to insure the most complete success. The company-fund enables the men to vary the monotony of the mess, and contributes greatly to their comfort. Prior to 1880, there was no Post Exchange with or without the sale of beer. Up to 1889, it was operated in comparatively few instances. Then the Canteen became general, and continued until February 2, 1901; so that the Canteen period is from 1889 to 1900 inclu-

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sive. Prior and subsequent thereto we have no period—by reason of the lack of the place of recreation, amusement, entertainment and lunch-room, and a company-fund to relieve the monotony of the mess—with which a statistical comparison of the Canteen period will be of any value for the purpose of demonstrating the wisdom of the anti-canteen legislation.

While this is true, it is to be observed that the facts, fairly analyzed, hardly justify the sweeping generalizations which have been made by the Canteen advocates. The theory is, that the establishment of the Canteen drives the contiguous saloons out of business, and, conversely, that its discontinuance at once increases the number. This is the only theory than can justify the Canteen. For instance, Major Seaman says regarding Washington Barracks in Washington:

"Before the introduction of the Canteen, Four-and-one-half Street, for two or three squares from the point at which it entered the Post, was lined with small saloons in which liquor was dispensed to the soldiers. Almost immediately after the starting of the Canteen at the barracks, the effect was seen upon these establishments, and before the second month, more than half of the liquor saloons had closed up and their proprietors had moved away."

The Canteen was established at these barracks in 1889. The facts, as given me by Major Richard Sylvester, Superintendent of the Police Department of the District of Columbia, are, that there were only three saloons on Four-and-one-half Street within three "squares from the point at which it entered the Post," in 1889, and, while two of them went out of existence shortly after the establishment of the Canteen, in 1890 four wholesale liquor stores, where the law authorized the sale of liquor in quantities of not less than a pint, were established, two continuing one year and two three years, and that, on the 2nd of February, 1901, when the Canteen was abolished, there were in this same location three "squares from the point where it entered the Post," four saloons—one more than when the Canteen was established—and the number has not increased up to date. The facts show that the theory failed to materialize. Of Fort Myer, Major Seaman says:

"Before the introduction of the Canteen there were between ten and twenty low groggeries, between the terminus of the street-railway and

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the entrance to Arlington, largely depending upon the patronage of the troops. . . . And that, after ten years of the Canteen at the Post only two of these were left."

On the contrary, in that locality, instead of "between ten and twenty low groggeries," the Commissioner of Revenue of Alexandria County, Virginia, Mr. H. L. Holmes, informs me from his own actual knowledge that there were from three to four saloons open from 1880 to 1891, and instead of "only two of these being left" the records show that in 1900, the end of the Canteen period, there were five in healthy working order. If all of the Major's assertions of facts are equally open to criticism it may not be entirely safe to rely without any hesitation upon his conclusions.

Major Seaman asserts, that "the liquor sellers and the W. C. T. U. are the strongest advocates of the law as it now stands," and Colonel Church says: "as no whiskey or other strong drinks were sold, the stories of the influence exerted by whiskey dealers to restore the Canteen are obviously untrue." Whether the "whiskey dealers" are for or against the Canteen goes a very little way toward establishing the facts involved, but the obvious anxiety of the Canteen advocates to separate themselves from "the liquor sellers" is certainly commendable. Whether they succeed in stating the facts in that particular, it may be well to let the organs of the "liquor sellers" show:

WHAT THE LIQUOR ORGANS SAY.

The "American Brewer" says that the members of the last Congress "allowed themselves to be influenced by a band of bigoted and narrow-minded prohibitionists in abolishing a most sensible institution which was very beneficial to the Army."

"Mida's Criterion of the Wholesale Whiskey and Wine Market," a paper that has been a constant and consistent supporter of the Canteen, says: "The first act of the present Congress should be to repeal the unwholesome law abolishing the Canteen and stop the progressive demoralization in the Army."

"The Liquor Trades' and Hotel Review" says: "It is almost certain that at the next session of Congress the Anti-Canteen law will be repealed. Almost every officer who is responsible for the maintenance of discipline in the Army, and solicitous for the higher standard of morality among the men, has agreed to sign the petition to re-establish the Canteen. This bill when presented will have the sympathy and support of every friend of the 'boys in blue' and of the cause of temperance."

"Believing with the most experienced military authorities that the

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Canteen is conducive to the highest standard of sobriety and discipline, the retail dealers, through their national organization, *aside from all selfish considerations*, give their unqualified approval to this necessary adjunct of the military department, and commend the firm and manly attitude of the President in its defense and maintenance." (Resolution of the Retail Liquor Dealers, at their National Convention, at Baltimore, in October, 1900.)

"We don't consider this action taken by General Miles a death-blow to the Army Canteen by any means. The fact that Mr. Miles has come out in favor of the present Anti-Canteen law, will not seriously affect the opponents to this *unjust fanatical measure.*

"*The editor of the 'Sentinel' will appear against the Anti-Canteeners before the Congressional Committee in the coming session of Congress, and we are glad to say in this connection that we, as a member of the Congressional Committee of the National Retail Liquor Dealers' Association, are able to break down one of the obstacles which had great influence upon the committee and the various members of Congress in the last fight.*" (Washington "Sentinel," National Organ of the Brewers' Association, Nov. 11, 1901.—Lewis Schade, Editor.)

In addition to the quotations given above, similar extracts could be made from the resolutions of the conventions of brewers and liquor dealers, and from the trade journals of the brewing, distilling and retail liquor interests. I have personally seen articles of this character from the "The Brewer's Journal," "The Brewer and Maltster," "The American Brewers' Review," "Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular," "The Wholesalers' and Retailers' Review," and the "Wine and Spirit News"; and the statement has been made by those qualified to speak on the subject that every one of the other representative journals of the various branches of the liquor trade have urged the restoration of the Canteen. This even includes the whiskey industry, although whiskey and distilled liquors were said to have been barred from the Canteen, and the whiskey trade is claimed to be the beneficiary of the legislation under review.

All this shows how vigorously and effectively the liquor sellers are advocating "the law as it now stands." If these gentlemen, and others who have been rolling that assertion as a sweet morsel under their tongues, and reiterating it in season and out, would take time to read the newspapers, they would perceive how grossly that assertion perverts the truth. It is not necessary that one should rise "from the dead" to establish the attitude of the liquor sellers.

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It is interesting to note how Colonel Church gains courage and tends gradually to convince himself as he gets into the full swing of his argument. He has been thinking over the important matter of desertions, which, he says, have greatly increased; and this leads him to suggest that it "is, in the opinion *of a majority* of our army officers, the result, *in part at least,* of the stimulus given to the drinking of vile liquors by the abolition of the Canteen." Note the commendable caution: "a *majority* of our army officers." . . . . "the result *in part* at least." He continues to discuss this phase for a few paragraphs, and the more he discusses it, the more the peculiar infamy of this anti-canteen legislation is borne in upon him; and getting an accretion of courage he confidently asserts, as to this discontent, that, "if the *almost unanimous* opinion of officers *and men* is to be accepted as *conclusive,* it is *very largely* due to civilian interference with army administration." In twenty-nine lines, "a majority" becomes "almost unanimous"; "*men*" are added to the officers, so as to include everybody; and "*in part* at least," becomes "*very largely.*"

Verily, if the Colonel's article had been longer, no doubt his conclusions would have been stronger. He takes occasion, for some of his "strongest testimony," to go outside of the army, and he calls as a witness "The Rev. William J. Dalton, a Catholic priest, of Kansas City, Missouri," who seems to think that all the good the women are trying to do has been "utterly ruined" by this vicious legislation. It would be more interesting, though perhaps less to his purpose, if he had quoted all that the Rev. Father said on this question. Among other things, he said:

> "Whatever could those women have been thinking of? Oh, so impracticable as these mannish women and womanish men are. In all my priesthood, when I have had a drinking man in my parish, I have worked with him to get him to remove to a house remote from a saloon, even to the extreme of getting him to go to another parish."

Where the person whose welfare is involved happens to be a member of his "parish," he moves him *away* "from a saloon." When it is nothing but a mere soldier, he moves a beer saloon *close up* to the soldier. On more mature reflection, in order not to be a "womanish man," he ought to have a beer saloon started, if possible, in his parishioner's door-yard, instead of getting him to go to another parish to get out of the way of a saloon. Why

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isn't the soldier entitled to the same consideration as the parishioner? This shows the difference between preaching and practice. His criticism, when measured by his own practice, suggests the Scriptural saying, "Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel."

To sustain his contention, Colonel Church makes reference to "a volume of over five hundred octavo pages, in small type, published under the authority of Congress. It is the testimony concerning the result which followed the prohibition of the sale of beer in Post Exchanges, gathered by the War Department from nearly one hundred Army Posts." This is referred to by Major Seaman as "an enormous volume of evidence," collected by the Secretary of War, "since its abolition." Reference is undoubtedly made to H. R. Doc. 252, 57th Congress, 2nd Session.

This document is one of the most interesting, and one of the most significant and suggestive incidents in the whole Canteen controversy. It is a response to the following resolution of the House of Representatives:

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of War be, and he hereby is, requested to transmit to Congress the various reports received by his department on the practical operation of section 38, of the Act of February 2nd, 1901, which prohibited the sales of beer and light wines in Post Exchanges."

This resolution very clearly contemplates official "reports" from "Post Exchanges," as these are clearly the only "reports" that could give any *facts* of value, and *facts* are what Congress was after.

In his letter of transmittal, however, instead of confining himself to such "reports," the Acting Secretary of War transmitted, with such "reports" as they had, 179 newspaper extracts, filling 113 of the 501 pages of "reports," every one of these extracts, where it expresses an opinion, decidedly favoring the Canteen and frequently denouncing in vigorous language the advocates of the anti-canteen legislation. These expressions were entirely legitimate as far as the newspapers were concerned, representing their opinion as to the facts; but they are hardly to be considered as "evidence" or "testimony" as to what the facts were, which is what Congress wanted and requested.

It would seem that the War Department had introduced, as one of its modern features, the patronizing of a clipping bureau,

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and had ordered only such clippings as sustained the Canteen and was accommodating enough to give Congress the benefit of its enterprise, though not invited to do so. A more careful examination of this document negatives this suggestion, as it appears that it used its own machinery for that purpose. On page 356, I find this letter :

"DETENTION CAMP, ANGEL ISLAND, CAL., *April 30, 1901.*
"*Adj.-Gen. U. S. Army, Washington, D. C.*

"SIR,—I have the honor to submit herewith an article on the Canteen taken from the Kansas City, Missouri, "Daily Journal," April, 1901, day of the month unknown. In transmitting this article, I desire to add that I have been informed that the Department desires *all remarks of this nature* pertaining to the Exchange.

"Very respectfully,
"EDWIN A. MACKLIN,
"First Lieutenant, Eleventh Infantry."

This letter enclosed the Rev. Father Dalton's "strongest testimony" above referred to. Through just what channel, whether "through military channels," we are not directly informed, but it is a fair inference from the unexplained letter, that such information was general throughout the army, and that, in addition to their other duties, the officers were charged with that of collecting and transmitting "*all remarks of this nature*" pertaining to the Exchange (*i. e.*, approving of the Canteen and denouncing the opponents of the Canteen), as the "*Department desires*" that kind. This is, perhaps, a fair illustration of the idea that this Department has of the manner in which fair-minded men may be properly aided in reaching a disinterested and just conclusion. Fearing that Congress might have difficulty in really understanding the attitude of some of these papers, one of them is quoted nine times, two of them eleven times, and one fourteen times. Verily, "in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established." There are some six hundred and forty different officers, from sergeants up, making reports. A curious fact is the apparently spontaneous and sporadic upheaval of Canteen sentiment "from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas," where, including sergeants, "one hundred and sixty-five witnesses," practically all the men at that post on the 17th and 18th of December, 1902, were moved to offer their testimony in favor of the sale of beer in the Canteen. Just what caused this epidemic of "testimony"

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all one way, at this particular place, at one and the same time, does not appear. Of course, it could not have been the result of prearrangement. All at once, one hundred and sixty-five men in one place felt inspired to testify. They constitute a little more than one-fourth of the whole number of "witnesses," leaving only four hundred and seventy-five "witnesses" for the balance of the United States, Cuba and the Philippine Islands. There are four hundred and seventy-four commissioned officers reporting. During this time, there were 3,820 such officers in the army, so that we have reporting about twelve per cent. of the whole—rather an inadequate representation upon which to base the assertion that "the almost *unanimous* opinion of the officers and men" sustains the Canteen. What the "testimony" of the remaining eighty-eight per cent. would be, uninfluenced by authority, we are not advised. We do know, however, that the officers testifying against the Canteen are among the most distinguished and eminent in their profession. They are such as Lieut.-General Nelson A. Miles, Generals Ludlow and Henry of sacred memory, Generals Howard, Shafter, Wheeler, Daggett, etc.

Major Seaman introduces the testimony of the Rev. S. B. Dexter, who, "hoping that truth and justice may triumph," sends the result of his investigations to the Secretary of War, and it appears in this document. (H. R. 252, pages 246--9.) It seems that certain Chicago clergymen were appointed a commission to investigate Canteen conditions at Fort Snelling and Highwood. The Rev. Mr. Dexter says that they made majority and minority reports, though the first report would appear to be unanimous. At any rate, it is signed by the Rev. Mr. Dexter twice, once in his capacity as a member of the Commission, and once as its Secretary. The minority report is signed by him alone. In his letter of transmittal, he refers to the fact that the investigation of the majority "covered but nine hours of actual time." He says: "I mention this, however, with no intention to reflect upon the members of the Commission." Inasmuch as he signed that report twice, manifesting his approval thereof, this is evidently the exercise of great consideration on his part. Perhaps, in fairness to the reverend gentleman, it should be stated that, in his great work entitled "Cant and Canteen," he says that "the members of the Commission, in making their report on the morning of May 6th, 1901, certainly had no intention of misrepresenting

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the facts in the case," (p. 20), leaving the necessary inference that, in his view, the report did to some extent misrepresent the facts. He apparently intends to discredit the report. Having signed and endorsed this discredited report twice, he naïvely says that he "wishes to state that he signed the report under protest," although no protest of any kind appears thereon. An ingenious method, peculiar to the reverend gentleman, of establishing the weight to be given to his investigations! In order to satisfy us of his undoubted credibility, he shows that he twice signed a report "misrepresenting the facts." Apparently apprehensive that the suggestion of a mental protest may not meet with a cheerful reception, and that he may not have been entirely successful in establishing his credibility as a witness, he thinks corroboration is necessary, and says that "almost all the morning newspapers of May 7th will prove this assertion." Why newspapers could not be quite unanimous on so simple a proposition we are not informed. In his work he defines Cant as "to speak with exaggerated unction, to descant with false fervor or enthusiasm" (p. 115). Just what "misrepresenting the facts" is, he doesn't say.

He misquotes the amendment in controversy by striking out the words "for military purposes" after the word "used," and inserting in place thereof, italicized, the words "or owned," changing the whole scope of the amendment (p. 45). He says that "the full benefit of Mr. Littlefield's principal speech is given to the reader, that the whole question might be studied from an unprejudiced point of view," after he has cut out the paragraph quoted at the beginning of this article, in which I state that there is "an honest difference of opinion as to the propriety of this amendment," though he had to cut a sentence in two in order to eliminate what seemed to me to be a proper, fair and candid statement (p. 47). He is still hoping, no doubt, "that truth and justice may triumph," and that the reader might get the "full benefit" . . . "from an unprejudiced point of view," but apprehensive apparently that the public might get the idea that, in an unguarded moment, a lucid interval, the parties supporting the anti-canteen legislation might entertain a conservative or reasonable view. It is believed that all of the clerical friends of the Canteen do not indulge in this *suppressio veri* method of argument.

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H. R. Doc. 252 gives an itemized table from the "reports." In referring to this document, Colonel Church says:

"Of all the posts expressing positive opinion one way or the other, ninety per cent. reported that drunkenness, desertion, absence without leave and trials by court-martial had increased."

I know nothing about the verity of these tables and take them as I find them. They cover the United States, Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines. The following facts are taken from the table. In answer to the question, "Has drunkenness increased?" 120 answered "yes," 55 "no," 17 were uncertain: 175 expressed a positive opinion; only sixty-nine per cent. thought it had increased. To the question, "Have courts-martial for offences caused by drunkenness increased?" 114 answered "yes," 55 "no," 18 were uncertain: 169 expressed a positive opinion one way or the other; only sixty-seven per cent. say that they "had increased." To the question, "Has the number of cases of desertion and absence without leave increased?" 87 answered "yes," 84 "no," 15 were uncertain: 171 expressed a positive opinion one way or the other; fifty-one per cent. only say that they "had increased."

Colonel Church says "ninety-five per cent. stated that the conditions of health had deteriorated, and all agree that morality and discipline had been injuriously affected." To the question, "Is the effect on health of command bad?" 108 answered "yes," 68 "no," 15 were uncertain: 176 expressed positive opinion one way or the other: sixty-two per cent. only say that the effect is bad. To the question, "Is the effect on morality and the discipline of the command bad?" 129 answered "yes," 45 "no," 17 were uncertain: 174 expressed positive opinion one way or the other; seventy-four per cent. only stating that the effect was bad. These statements made by a critic who charges the friends of the anti-canteen legislation with "having reached certain dogmatic conclusions by the *studious ignoring of facts*," require no comment. The inference is too obvious. Let us hope that this is not a sample of what we would get if "one rose from the dead to bear testimony to the truth." It is to be observed that these questions, instead of being framed so as to draw out a disinterested reply, are all leading, and intimate that an answer adverse to the legislation is expected.

C. E. LITTLEFIELD.

(To be Continued.)

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A MENACE TO AMERICA'S ORIENTAL TRADE.

BY WONG KAI KAH, HIS IMPERIAL CHINESE MAJESTY'S VICE-COMMISSIONER TO THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION.

THE United States, as a government and a people, stands with the Chinese, if such a thing is possible, in the position of a most favored nation. The humane action of American soldiers, officers and men, who, in the late trouble in the north of China, everywhere acted in a spirit of fairness, justice and equity towards all, without question as to race, color or creed; the friendship of the United States Government in granting China's appeal to accept payment of the heavy war indemnity in silver; the recognized facts that the United States has no ulterior object beyond trade, no designs of seizing Chinese territory, have caused a feeling of sincere friendliness both in the Chinese officials and people, with a desire to encourage American interests in our country. I do not want to criticise American laws, for I must admit that laws made by the wisdom of American legislators must be accepted as good ones for the people of the United States, even if a discrimination against another people, the policy of excluding Chinese laborers, is one that might, no doubt, lead to a division of opinion. But I am sure that, if the abuse in the carrying out of the provisions of the exclusion law, as applied to the Exempt Class, were understood by the great American public, there would be a unanimous opinion, especially upon the part of the merchants and business people who want to trade with China, that a wrong is being needlessly inflicted, which, unless checked, is sure to lead to retaliation and to drive China's great trade into more friendly hands.

The laws of the United States specifically provide that certain classes of Chinese—the merchant, the student and the traveller for pleasure or curiosity—can enter this country upon producing an appropriate certificate from their Government, endorsed by the

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United States consul or diplomatic officer at the port of departure; but under the rulings of the Treasury Department:

"Collectors of customs are directed to admit only Chinese whose occupation or station clearly indicates that they are members of the Exempt Class."

Under the Chinese regulations issued by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, approved by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, July 27th, 1903, it is provided as follows:

"*Rule 6.* Immediately upon the arrival of Chinese persons, it shall be the duty of the officer in charge of the administration of the Chinese exclusion laws to adopt suitable means *to prevent communication with them by any persons other than officials under his control,* to have said Chinese persons examined promptly, as by law provided, touching their right to admission, and to permit *those proving such right to land.*"

"*Rule 7.* The examination prescribed in Rule 6 should be separate and *apart from the public,* in the presence of Government officials and *such witness or witnesses only as the examining officer shall designate;* and if, upon the conclusion thereof, the Chinese applicant for admission *is adjudged* to be inadmissible, he should be advised of his right of appeal, and his counsel should be permitted, after duly filing notice of appeal, to examine, *but not make copies of,* the evidence upon which the excluding decision is based."

"*Rule 8.* Every Chinese person refused admission under the provisions of the exclusion laws by the *decision of the officer in charge* at the port of entry must, if he shall elect to take an appeal to the Secretary of the Treasury, give written notice thereof to said officer *within two days* after such decision is rendered."

Rule 6 prevents a Chinese visitor from even communicating with friend, adviser or counsel. One man decides he is not admissible, and there is given to one who is a stranger to the United States, its customs and laws, not even an explanation of the reasons why he is refused permission to land; and though, more than probably, he has no knowledge of the English language, he is allowed forty-eight hours in which to secure advice, assistance, and file a notice of appeal.

"*Rule 9.* Notice of appeal provided for in Rule 8 shall act as a stay upon the disposal of the Chinese person whose case is thereby affected, until a *final decision is rendered by the Secretary;* and, *within three days* after the filing of such notice, unless further delay is required to investigate and report upon new evidence, the complete record of the case, together with such briefs, affidavits and statements *as are to be considered*

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in connection therewith, shall be forwarded to the Commissioner-General of Immigration by the officer in charge at the port of arrival, *accompanied by his views* thereon in writing; *but on such appeal no evidence will be considered that has not been made the subject of investigation and report by the said officer in charge.*"

Two days are given to a stranger to get advice, assistance and file an appeal, and three days to get evidence to reverse the ruling of the officer who decides against him; and if the officer does not investigate (and there is no obligation upon him to do so), the evidence cannot be considered at the resource of appeal.

Is not this a travesty upon justice, and an undue "railroading," as it is called in this country, especially considering that the matter involved is the case of a Chinese gentleman, who has the *prima facie* evidence, in the shape of a certificate from his Government, examined and sealed by a United States consul, that he is entitled to land. Could harsher measures be adopted to bar out lepers, or dangerous anarchists or criminals?

"*Rule 21. The burden of proof* in all cases *rests upon Chinese persons* claiming the right of admission to, or residence within, the United States, to establish such right affirmatively *and satisfactorily* to the appropriate Government officers; and in no case in which the law prescribes the nature of the evidence to establish such right shall other evidence be accepted in lieu thereof, *and in every doubtful case the benefit of the doubt shall be given by administrative officers to the United States Government.*"

"*Rule 23.* All certificates, or other evidence, offered by Chinese persons to establish their right of admission to the United States, shall be retained by the officers in charge of the administration of the Chinese exclusion laws at ports of entry; *the immunity from arrest* of the Chinese persons admitted thereon resting upon their exclusive occupation in the pursuits for which their certificates, or other evidence, claim that they respectively seek admission to the United States."

After the Chinese visitor has run the gauntlet at the port of entry, the United States takes from him and keeps all his documents and turns him loose, liable to arrest; and if he is arrested, the burden rests upon him in a strange land to prove that he is innocent. At any moment, any officious officer or other person can maliciously cause his arrest, simply because he is a Chinaman without a paper, and the law says: "Now stay in jail until you prove you are innocent or have a right to be here."

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"*Rule 28.* The omission from a certificate prescribed by Section 6 of the act approved July 5, 1884, of any of the information required by said section *is fatal* to the sufficiency of such certificate, as evidence of the right of the person to whom issued to enter the United States."

As the United States consul is required to visé this document, why should he, if it is not in order, pass, sign and deliver it?

"*Rule 32.* In considering evidence touching the right of a Chinese student to enter the United States, administrative officers should be governed by the opinion of the Solicitor of the Treasury Department (of June 15, 1900), that a Chinese student within the intention of the treaty of December 8, 1894, and of the laws, is 'a person who intends to pursue some of the higher branches of study, or one who seeks to be fitted for some particular profession or occupation for which facilities of study are not afforded in his own country; one for whose support and maintenance in this country, as a student, provision has been made, and who, upon completion of his studies, expects to return to China.'"

The treaty of December 8th, 1894, provided:

"That the provisions of this Convention shall not affect the right at present enjoyed of Chinese subjects, being officials, teachers, students, merchants or travellers for curiosity or pleasure, but not laborers, of coming to the United States and residing therein."

This is the literal wording of this Section of the Treaty as executed by the respective Governments; and there is no doubt that the intent upon the part of the United States Government was to exclude laborers, and upon the part of the Chinese Government that the rights of those mentioned should be the same as before, to come and go upon obtaining a certificate from the Chinese Government, viséd by the United States consul:

"*To entitle* such Chinese subjects as are above described to admission into the United States, *they may* produce a certificate from their Government or the Government where they last resided, viséd by the diplomatic or consular representative of the United States in the country or port whence they depart."

Without questioning the definition of the word "student" by the Solicitor of the Treasury Department, would it not be as well to consider the injustice to the Chinese, and the injury to the people of the United States, involved in refusing these young men of China the right to come to the United States and study in its schools, a privilege for which they pay?

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In the next decade or two, those who are now the sons of the rich merchants and high officials of China will be the dominating powers in Chinese commerce and politics, and in their hearts will be a preference, a special friendliness, towards that country wherein they formed the associations of their youth, while acquiring education to fit them for their position in life.

Is it wise to shut American doors in their faces and send them to other countries, making them pro-European as against Americans in the competition for the trade and favors of China?

Under the Act of August 18th, 1894, it is provided:

> "In every case where an alien is excluded from admission into the United States under any law or treaty now existing or hereafter made, the decision of the appropriate immigration or customs officers, if adverse to the admission of such alien, *shall be final*, unless reversed on appeal to the Secretary of the Treasury."

A careful consideration of these rules and regulations, with an examination of past procedures, precedents, must predispose the customs official to the belief that the duty imposed upon, and expected of, him is to keep out the applicant if he possibly can. It cannot tend to make him regard himself as an impartial judge,—practically the sole arbiter of the fate of a passenger who has travelled thousands of miles; it will rather encourage him to act the part of a prosecuting officer, whose duty it is to seek for a technicality whereby he may detain, restrain and, if possible, send back the Chinese visitor; nor will he be without the assurance that his zeal will be gauged and appreciated by the number of applicants to whom he denies admission, and that such acts will be approved by a majority of the American people.

When a Chinese merchant or student, legally entitled to come to this country, having what he believes to be an appropriate paper which the United States consul has signed and passed, who must benefit the country if in no other way than by the money he spends upon his arrival, attempts to enter the United States, his attempt is looked upon as a criminal offence; he is discriminated against, and subjected to an inquisition which humiliates him before his fellow passengers; and if there is a technical flaw in the papers, for which he is not responsible, or if there is a doubt in the mind of the customs official as to his occupation or station —as to his being a member of the Exempt Class—he is detained

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in the pen on the steamship wharf, or imprisoned like a felon, until the customs officials are satisfied, and, after all this, more often than otherwise, he is sent back to China. The archives of the Chinese legations and various consulates, especially at San Francisco, are full of cases of this kind; but I can give an instance in the case of a young man whom I brought here with me.

A nephew of one of our high officials in China (who had received his education in the United States in the seventies along with myself), the son of one of our leading merchants in Shanghai, was sent by his father, with documents from the Chinese Government, properly viséd by the United States consul-general at Shanghai, as a first-class passenger, by the Canadian-Pacific route, to the United States to complete his education. The lad, fifteen years of age, had his queue cut off, and was dressed in foreign clothes; he had attended foreign schools in Shanghai, and spoke English fluently. Upon arrival at the American frontier, the customs official did not consider his papers sufficient to clearly indicate that he was of the Exempt Class (a student); they proceeded to cross-question this boy of fifteen, and in his answers found some technicality on which they held him up. After several months' detention in Canada, the boy was compelled to go all the way back to China.

Why should not this youth have been accepted on his Government papers, signed by the American consul-general?

Who would be injured by his entering, or who benefited by turning him back on a journey of ten thousand miles, to go home to his father, a large merchant, controlling thousands of dollars of trade, with the mortifying tale that "they would not let me in?"

Is it not natural that this merchant will retaliate in his trade dealings?

The official archives of the Chinese consul-general at San Francisco contain, amongst others, the case of a party of some thirty Chinese merchants who arrived at San Francisco in August, 1899, for the purpose of making connections, buying goods and generally improving their business relations with this country. The Collector refused them admission, simply on account of an omission of particulars respecting the nature and character of their business in the English portion of the certificate, although these particulars were fully given in the Chinese portion; and they were forced to return to China.

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Is it reasonable to suppose that any of this group, or any friends of theirs, will give any trade they control to the United States by preference? Who was benefited by sending them away?

When American law-makers provided that an appropriate document from the Chinese Government must be secured and viséd by the United States consular official at the port of departure, it appears to me that they, in their wisdom, deemed the representative of the Government on the spot to be the person best qualified to determine whether the applicant was of the Exempt Class; and that they relied upon his satisfying himself that the document submitted to him was proper and adequate *before he affixed his seal* to it. If this is not so, then a sense of fairness, justice, even humanity, should dictate that United States consuls should be competent and instructed to refuse their seal, unless they are satisfied, of their own knowledge, or by conclusive evidence, that the party is of the Exempt Class, and that his papers are all in order. Do not let a man (there have even been cases in which women and children have been the victims) take a trip of thousands of miles, at great expense, in the belief he is right, to be subjected in the end to all kinds of hardships for reasons for which he is not responsible. In China, where a seal is official, and business is of the greatest importance, the mere act of affixing the United States consular seal is conclusive evidence to the Chinese of all being irrevocably in order.

In the case of the young man I brought over, should it have been required, the highest mercantile and banking firms and officials, foreign and Chinese, in Shanghai would have appeared before the United States consul-general and satisfied that official that the young man was a student, going to the United States to study, to complete his education, and entitled to enter the country.

The language, customs, phrases of the two people are so different that it is difficult for the Chinese to avoid mistakes in technicalities. What I advise is not concession,—no change of laws. But let American consuls in China be clearly instructed as to the nature and wording of the document required; let him, of his own knowledge, or by substantial proofs, be satisfied that the applicant is a merchant or of the Exempt Class, and let him refuse to sign, seal and deliver any papers until all these conditions are complied with. If there is any doubt, stop the party before leaving his own country. At the most, the Government and

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the people of the United States can only want the law carried out, and the United States official in China, on the spot, with all means of obtaining evidence for and against any applicant, is better able to determine whether the applicant has the right to go, than the United States customs official at the port of entry.

The fact that a Chinese gentleman travels as a first-class passenger, should be considered as *prima facie* evidence that he is not a coolie, and liable to be a danger to the American laborer; and the presentation, when he makes his customs declaration, of his documents, sealed by the United States consul, should entitle him to the same treatment as other passengers.

I hope that the merchants and business men of this country, who are desirous of doing business with China, will consider and investigate this subject, and act before the root of retaliation has grown too deep to be torn up.

China has her press, that voices these "outrages," as they are called by the better class of thinking people. Every Chinese ill-treated in America or sent back from it spreads the story of his wrongs amongst his friends and their acquaintances.

The Hon. John Barrett was sent by America to our country, with an invitation to China to participate in the coming great World's Fair at St. Louis. Our Government responded, from its friendly sentiment towards the great American people, in a way that we trust is satisfactory. It is China's first official representation at an affair of this kind. Liberal appropriation was made; a commission was sent here to erect Government buildings; and a Prince of the royal blood will be at the opening of the Fair.

Every effort was made by the Government to enlist the co-operation of our merchants, so that our display might be a credit to China and an assistance to the American people in making her great World's Fair a success. Merchants all over China became enthusiastic, and preparations were going on for participation on a large scale, when, months after the invitation was extended, came the rulings of the Treasury Department, that Chinese coming here to take part in the Fair must be photographed, must comply with discriminating conditions not made applicable to any other nationals, and must give a bond that they will leave the country after the closing of the Fair.

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Among the sixty-one rules issued by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, approved July 27th, 1903, while our merchants at great expense all over the country were preparing to exhibit at the Fair, we have the following:

"*Rule 44.* Every Chinese person seeking admission to the United States under the provisions of section 3 of the act approved April 29, 1902, for the purpose of taking part in any fair or exhibition authorized by act of Congress, shall, as a condition precedent to such admission, comply with the following conditions, and officers charged with the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion laws *shall* likewise, so far as action on their part is required, conform thereto. This rule takes the place of Treasury Department Circular No. 5, Bureau of Immigration, dated January 7, 1903.

"*(a).* Every such person shall furnish to the officer in charge of the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion laws at the port of entry, *satisfactory evidence* that he is a holder of a privilege from the officers of said exposition, or an employee of a holder of such a privilege, engaged to take part therein."

What knowledge has a party in China of what will be considered "*satisfactory evidence*" at the port of entry; and how many will come ten thousand miles with a doubt as to whether they will be turned back?

"*(b).* He shall furnish to the said officer in charge at the port of entry a photograph of himself, in triplicate, *and shall submit to such examination as may be deemed necessary to insure his identification.*"

The examination here required is thus defined in previous sections of these rules:

"Physical examination of his person, required by the Bertillon system of identification."

This is a procedure that is adopted in no other cases, conditions or country, except where *criminals* are concerned, a degradation that no self-respecting person can or should submit himself to, unless forced by matters of dire urgency, under which heading a desire to participate in a foreign country's exhibition should surely not be classed.

"*(c).* He shall, *if admitted,* proceed immediately, by direct and continuous travel, to the said exposition, wherever located; remain there during his stay in the United States; engage while there solely in the

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occupation for which he was admitted; return within thirty days after the close of said exposition by direct and continuous travel *to the port* at which he was admitted and thence depart, by the first vessel sailing thereafter, to China or to the country of which he is a citizen or subject.

"*(d)*. He shall furnish to the United States officer in charge, by whom he is admitted, a bond of $500, *with a responsible bonding and surety company as surety*, conditioned for his immediate departure to said exposition grounds, his constant attendance and employment at said grounds, and his departure from the United States, all in accordance with the next preceding regulation."

Merchants are exempt from this paragraph (d); also from the following (i) and (j):

"*(i)*. Should any such Chinese person desire *to leave the grounds* of said exposition temporarily, he *must* apply to the officer provided for in paragraph (g) hereof, who *may* issue to him a dated card, giving his name and other particulars for his identification, and stating that he is permitted to absent himself from said grounds *not longer* than forty-eight hours from the date of said card, which shall, upon his return within the specified time, be delivered to said officer and cancelled."

There is no obligation that the officer in charge *shall* grant the application. A man may be seriously ill, requiring medical attention that cannot be had on the exposition grounds; there is no certainty that he can be removed, and, under the requirement of this rule, he *must* be returned in forty-eight hours.

"*(j)*. All Chinese persons holding such cards who fail to return within the forty-eight hours shall be deemed to be unlawfully within the United States, and the bonds given on their behalf shall be forfeited and such person shall be deported."

There is no reason, excuse, accident or even hearing allowed. A person acting in good faith may be physically unable to turn in his card within forty-eight hours; but his bond of $500 shall be forfeited and he shall be deported.

Does this appeal to the average business man as the treatment which should be accorded to a fellow man whom Americans have invited to co-operate with them in making an American undertaking a success?

The publication of these rulings in the Chinese press led to indignation meetings of the merchants, and the determination of many to give up their contemplated exhibitions; and I fear

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the participation of Chinese merchants in the Fair will not be as generous as it would otherwise have been.

For commercial reasons, it would have been to the interest of the United States never to have extended an invitation to the merchants of China, and not to have gone so far as to send an able representative there to awaken interest in the Fair. If conditions were to be prescribed for the Chinese different to those applicable to all other nations, it would have been wiser to state what those conditions were to be, so that the American representative could have made the invitation a conditional one, and not a general hearty welcome, such as our merchants believed it to be.

Every merchant in whom there was incited a desire to participate in the Fair, who made preparations, at expense of time and money, and who changed his determination upon the publication of these rules, will not bear a kindly sentiment towards the United States in his business dealings; he, no doubt, from personal grievances, either real or fancied, will become an agitator, where otherwise he might have remained passive.

In no other country is the power of boycott as strong as it is in China. Every trade, business, profession, has its guild or association, whose laws are almost paramount to the laws of the country; and often merchants accomplish the repeal of an obnoxious law or tax, or the removal of an unjust official, by closing their places of business and letting them remain closed until the remedy asked for is granted.

Let the statesmen of the East and South, the mill-owners and the thousands of operators remember that many of their mills were shut up on account of the temporary stoppage of trade during the late troubles in North China.

Let the business men and statesmen of the West and of the Pacific coast, whose growth and prosperity will be measured by the extent of American trade with the Orient, consider the danger of a commercial discrimination by China against the United States as an off-set to the wrongs the Chinese believe they are suffering under. The realization of this danger may lead to a better understanding of the real situation, and to the adoption of such remedies as will make impossible any interruption of the strong sentiment of friendship which has been cherished by the Chinese towards the great American people.

WONG KAI KAH.

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AN UNTECHNICAL VIEW OF WARFARE.

BY LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER ROY C. SMITH, U.S.N., NAVAL ATTACHÉ TO THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES TO FRANCE.

Of all abstruse subjects, warfare is to the lay mind probably the most bewildering. Military writers have a habit of using technical terms, and referring to maxims or rules that are not actually stated but are rather supposed to be understood, to the ultimate confusion of all except those who have made a concise study of military methods. If this is true of military writers, it holds to an even greater extent in the case of the average narrator of naval operations; for, while every civilian has some knowledge of troops, if only of the militia, there are few who know much about the sea. And if we leave out the professional writers, who may be assumed to understand the principles of their subject, and take up historians, who regard wars as incidents of greater or less importance in the march of events, the haze grows more intense. Their accounts of operations are often narratives strung together without a clear perception of the grand essential plans that brought about the results. They dwell often on the clash of battle and deeds of individual prowess, from which the reader carries no lasting impression of why anything happened as it did.

The reason for all this is, perhaps, not far to seek. There is a great deal of the technical in the *art* of the soldier or the sailor. It requires their life study and practice. How, then, may the civilian ever know very much about so complicated a subject? The *art*, it is certain, he will never master; the *science* he may—possibly, if he is a student, even better than the busy man of action himself; for art is the aptitude of experience, science is the knowledge of principles. The admiral and the general have the

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art to handle their forces; the scientific critic, who could not command a regiment or a ship, can say whether the admiral and the general have acted wisely. Some of this knowledge of the technical critic is possible to everybody, and to the intelligent citizen a little of it is necessary.

To illustrate this point, reference may be made to the writings of the late Mr. John C. Ropes of Boston. Here was a successful lawyer, who took up the study of military matters as a recreation. Actual personal knowledge of the handling of troops he had none, yet his criticisms of certain of the campaigns and battles of the Civil War, and his "Waterloo," are unique as examples of clear perception and comprehensive grasp of military principles. Again, the historian of a certain period of our American history was asked as to his method of preparing the accounts of the various campaigns and battles, which were remarkably well done. He replied that he had no method, except to study the reports and other authorities. Asked if he had not made some study of military science, he replied that he had not, that he had found the treatises too dry and technical. He admitted, however, that he had read one book through, the late General Hamley's "Operations of War Explained and Illustrated." Though there have been many changes in tactics since this book was published, about 1866, it remains a classic, and is one of the clearest and most interesting treatises on its subject ever written.

With regard to naval writings, the case is somewhat different. Most of the successful naval critics and historians that this country has produced have had the benefit of an early naval training, as, for instance, Cooper and Captain Mahan. There are, however, exceptions, as witness Mr. Roosevelt's "Naval War of 1812"; and abroad, especially in England, there are many civilians who possess a deep knowledge of nautical affairs. It may not be generally known that one of the most fascinating and convincing works on naval tactics ever written was produced by a civilian, John Clerk of Eldin, a Scotchman, who whittled out models of ships and carried them about in his pockets, fetching them out to while away otherwise idle moments in imaginary battle manœuvres. He it was who first persistently advocated cutting the enemy's line, a feat first successfully performed by Rodney, at the battle of The Saintes. It was even said that Rodney had in his possession at the time a manuscript copy of Clerk's work, not yet pub-

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lished; but there is no proof that the critical movement of this battle was inspired by Clerk's writings.

Of course, not one civilian in a million has the time or inclination to penetrate the principles of military or naval science as did Mr. Ropes, or John Clerk of Eldin. But there is no secret about such matters, and in all warfare, at all times, by land or sea, the eternal principles are the same. The supreme necessity is to be superior to the enemy at the point of contact, whether in numbers, weapons, or position; and the purpose of the science of war is to effect this superiority. All results in war are produced by the application of force; and force, so far as we know it practically, is matter in motion. The power to resist force is evidently of importance also. Here are all the absolutely inherent elements of tactics. Tactics, be it understood, governs the conduct of battles, as distinguished from strategy, which concerns the whole theatre of war, of which more later.

Now, to consider more fully these inherent elements of tactics—that is, the elements that are dependent on the forces themselves, the internal elements, in contradistinction to the external or extraneous elements, which are the elements depending on the surroundings. The internal elements seem to reduce themselves to *weapons, mass, motion,* and *resistance.* Weapons are but means of utilizing force. They are of many kinds and have differed much in past ages. The peculiar weapon of the age and of the individual armed force is the predominating influence on the tactics of that age and of that particular armed force. All missile weapons are the simplest exemplars of matter in motion, but the ram of a battle-ship depends for its effect on the same factors—namely, mass and motion. The product of the mass, or weight, of the ship, and her speed, or motion, measure the momentum, which, of course, determines the injury to be done to the enemy. Similarly with the charge of a cavalry regiment. Each horse and his rider is a projectile, and the shock depends on the momentum, or the product of mass and motion.

In land tactics, mass also refers to the numbers and grouping of the individuals in the tactical units. Other things being equal, numbers will prevail; but, with the same numbers, the massing or grouping of the individuals in the tactical unit, whether phalanx, legion or battalion, is a considerable factor in the final outcome. Similarly, motion includes mobility, or ease of assuming

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tactical dispositions. With infantry it lies in the soldiers' legs. On the sea, in the sail period, it depended on the wind. Now it resides in the boilers and engines, and is self-contained, causing modern steam tactics to resemble in a remarkable degree the tactics of the galley period.

Resistance, the last of the internal elements of tactics, is closely allied to protection. It is passive resistance that is meant, not active. Its reverse is vulnerability. Soldiers do not now carry body armor, and they are entirely vulnerable to all the weapons of the day. In past ages they were cased in armor, impervious to the usual missile weapons; and mailed horsemen easily rode over opposing infantry, until they met their Waterloo at the hands of the English long-bowmen at Crécy and the Swiss spearmen at Granson and Morat. The advent of firearms finished the work thus begun by the English and the Swiss, and body armor was relegated to the past. Not so in naval warfare. The walls of oak were with difficulty penetrable by the round shot of the day. Ships and fleets hammered each other interminably, until they grappled and boarded, or until a preponderating force was brought to bear against a small fraction of the enemy. Ships were rarely sunk. With the subsequent increase in power of ordnance, wooden armor-clads appeared, then iron and steel ships, and steel armor-clads. Armor is still a little ahead of the gun, but it is entirely possible that at some future time it will have totally disappeared from ships, as it did a long time since from the bodies of men. Without any protection, the quality of resistance in fighting units will vary, that is, their physical resistance to deformation. Moral and personal qualities are not here considered. The resistance of a cruiser is greater than that of a torpedo-boat, though neither may be protected. Hence, resistance means more than protection.

The above are apparently all the internal elements of tactics, that is, *weapons, mass, motion, resistance.* The external elements depend on the surroundings. They are the natural and artificial features of the field of battle, the weather, and the light. A level plain, a hill country, forests, swamps, rivers, roads, a smooth sea, fog, mist, rain, sunlight, a gale, heat, cold, all affect tactics; but the conditions on the average are what govern the normal tactics; and the average condition is fairly constant in any age. Variations will affect the tactics of a special campaign, but they will not influence the normal tactics of the age.

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On the other hand, a variation in any internal element changes the whole tactics of the period. Witness the advent of smokeless powder and the small-calibre, high-power rifle. The change produced in the normal tactics is nothing less than sweeping. So, in all ages, the internal elements are the main factors in the tactics of the time, and of these the influence that predominates over all others is the weapons. And the internal elements afford a ready means of comparing the tactics of different ages.

As an illustration, let the sea tactics of the different ages be considered in the light of the internal elements. There have been three principal periods of naval warfare, the period of oars, the period of sails, and the period of steam. Taking them in order, and considering each period in reference to weapons, mass, motion and resistance, we come first to the weapons of the period of oars. The boats, or galleys, carried fighting men as well as oarsmen. These were armed with missile weapons of various sorts, as well as the usual sword and shield. In the bows of the boats were often found war engines, such as the *ballista,* or catapult. The boat was also provided with a beak, or ram. Next, as to mass. The individual units, or boats, had to be sufficiently large to carry a number of fighting men, but they were limited in size by the method of construction and the material, wood for the greater part, as well as by the necessities of oar propulsion. The motion was comparatively rapid at top speed, for by long training the oarsmen were enabled to exert a tremendous power for hours at a stretch. The resistance of the battle unit, composed of the boat and her crew, depended mostly on the life of the boat; for the fighting men did not differ materially from foot soldiers on shore, protected by helmet and shield. The boat had an excess of longitudinal strength, but was weak transversely.

From these considerations it would seem that the tactics would be to fight bows on, and to take the enemy in flank. This would permit the development of the full offensive power of the catapult and ram, would retire its own weak flank, and seek eventually to pierce the enemy's flank. As the motive power was self-contained, swift and skilful combinations could be made to bring about a bow to flank attack, and the enemy's motive power could be deranged by sweeping along his side, with suddenly boated oars, and so chopping off the blades of the opposing oars. Once in contact, provided neither boat sank, a hand-to-hand battle would

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ensue, and the best crew would win. But the result would usually be brought about by ramming, following a surprise attack or skilful manœuvring. These tactics are derived from a simple consideration of the elements as they were at the time.

The rest of this illustration must be very brief. In the sail period the weapon was the gun, and it came to be mounted principally in broadside, because there was no other place available. The mass was greater than in the galley period, because there was no limit imposed by a requirement of handling oars. The motion was variable, according to the strength of the wind, and was restricted in direction. With the wind from the north, ships could sail east or west, or any intermediate course by way of south, but could not lay a course any appreciable amount to the northward of east or west. The resistance of the hulls was considerable in relation to the smooth-bore ordnance of the day, and it required heavy punishment at close quarters to produce decisive results. The hulls were not usually materially damaged by running aboard of each other, being strong in relation to the habitual speed.

Hence we should expect to see the ships of a fleet strung out in a line, one ahead of the other—column, as it is called—in order to give all the guns a chance. In a fleet engagement, the enemy would have to be in a similar line, heading in the same or the opposite direction. In either case one fleet would be to windward, the other to leeward. The windward fleet would have certain advantages of position, for it could give or refuse battle on its own terms. We should then expect to see the fleets manœuvre for this windward position, that is, the weather-gage. Ramming would not be of much avail, for though the mass was sufficient, the motion was too uncertain, and the damage, in view of the relatively strong hulls, would be slight. Actual sea-fights have justified these deductions. Fleets passed in opposite directions, or stood on together in parallel lines, each vessel hammering its opposite. The French often took the lee-gage, and fired at the masts and rigging of the enemy to cripple his motive power. The English always manœuvred for the weather-gage, and always fired at the enemy's hulls. Battles were often indecisive, as the fire was distributed along the line and the hulls were relatively strong. Rodney in the West Indies was the first to show that the line might be cut, and a concentration effected on a part of the enemy's force. Nelson's great victories made use of the same principle.

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Warfare in the steam period is much more complicated. This is due to the excessive differentiation of the fighting units, as from battle-ships to torpedo-boats, and also to the intricate construction of each unit. The principal weapon is still the gun, but of much greater power, range and accuracy. It is no longer carried principally in broadside, but is so distributed as to give a great volume of fire in every direction. The torpedo and the ram are the other weapons. The mass is anything, from that of the small torpedo-boat to that of the large battle-ship. It must therefore be separately considered for each separate action. The motion is now self-contained, as it was in the galley period; but it has advanced in a degree commensurate with the power of the weapons. The resistance of the units is nothing in torpedo-boats, and well-nigh perfect in battle-ships.

We should expect, then, to see fleets manœuvring for position as they did in the days of oars. The tactics would, in fact, greatly resemble those of the galley period, owing to freedom of motion in all directions. The galleys had fought in line abreast of each other, to keep their beaks to the front. It has been seen that, in the sail period, the ships were in line ahead—that is, column—to give their broadside guns a chance. The first steamers were wooden frigates with full sail power, and the battery arrangements remained the same as they had been. But with the freedom of motion, the ram had a period of development, and head-on fire came to the front. This resulted in the old galley formation of line abreast and tactics entirely similar to galley tactics. Now, with all-round fire, and the vastly greater range of the guns, the ram is discredited as a weapon of first instance; and the column, or line ahead, has reappeared as the principal fighting formation. Its advantage is that it permits follow-your-leader tactics, the simplest in actual battle. Line abreast, however, may be instantly assumed from line ahead by causing the ships to turn together through an angle of ninety degrees.

The battle now will be settled largely by gun-fire and skilful manœuvring to bring a preponderance of fire on a portion of the enemy. Ramming is largely a matter of chance, in which a skilful combatant places himself on an equality with a less able adversary. It would be resorted to at times in emergencies, or against a partially disabled ship of the enemy. The torpedo also serves to keep the combatants farther apart in the earlier stages of the

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action. The range and accuracy of this weapon are still on the increase; and it is part of the equipment of most battle-ships.

A contest between a battle-ship and a torpedo-boat could be most clearly outlined by a simple consideration of the elements already mentioned. As regards this contest, the weapons of the ship are her rapid-fire guns, of the torpedo-boat her torpedoes. The mass of the ship is huge. If she touched the hull of the boat she would crush it. But her size makes her conspicuous, and affords a large target area for the torpedoes. The mass of the boat is slight and thus makes for invisibility, especially at night or in a fog. In relation to motion, or speed, the boat is greatly in excess. As to resistance, while the ship is completely encased at and above the water-line, she is defenceless below, except in the protection afforded by her cellular subdivision. The boat, likewise, is entirely vulnerable to the rapid-firers of the ship. The tactics are obvious. The boat must steal up to striking distance, say a quarter to a third of a mile, unobserved. If she is discovered outside of that distance she will be riddled. Night is obviously her best time. Her high speed is useful in covering the ground from distant points, and in avoiding destroyers, also in rushing into torpedo range after discovery; but for the actual stealthy approach it is of no utility, as the rush of water and the tongues of flame from the funnels would betray her presence.

Space permitting, the changes in land tactics could be traced from the earliest times, and could be shown to merge in each other with gradual changes in the internal elements, weapons, mass, motion, resistance. So is it possible to compare the tactics of land and sea forces. Battle-ships are infantry and artillery combined, cruisers are the scouts and cavalry of the sea. A most interesting similarity exists between the tactics of modern cavalry and that of ancient galleys. The internal elements in each case happen to bear the same mutual relation to each other. Hence, the resulting tactics are the same. With cavalry the principal weapon is the horse; that is, true cavalry tactics depends on shock. With the galleys it was the beak. Cavalry taken in flank is weak, so with the galleys; both are handy and manageable and both can be given considerable speed and impetus. Hence, the tactics will be to attack at speed, by surprise if possible, and in the flank. This must not be considered merely an ingenious comparison, of no practical utility. It simply shows how the same results must

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follow when the elements stand in the same mutual relation to each other.

So much for tactics. The other principal subdivision of warfare is strategy. Strategy controls the whole plan of campaign, tactics regulates the conduct of battles. There are other divisions, such as logistics and engineering. Logistics is the science of moving armies and of keeping them supplied with food and munitions of war. It touches both tactics and strategy. It need not be discussed separately. Similarly, engineering is a technical art, and its results as affecting strategy and tactics are all that need be grasped by the critic.

Strategy is not always discussed as a broad science depending on foundation principles. Military and naval men go about it in an entirely different way. In the army it is a question of bases, lines of communication, lines of operation, objectives. As any particular country is fixed in its main features, these various matters may be discussed and prearranged. In the navy, the bases are fixed; the objective, usually the enemy's ships, is by no means fixed. Nor is the path fixed. There are no roads on the ocean.

But cannot strategy afloat and ashore be brought together under certain controlling principles? Are there not essential elements of strategy as there are of tactics? First, the inherent elements, depending on the forces themselves. Strategy covers the whole theatre of war. The forces must be able to cover it also. The inherent elements, then, are their means of getting over the ground, which may be termed *locomotion;* and their self-sustaining capacity, which may be termed *endurance.* Endurance has a partly technical meaning separate from physical endurance. It means the capacity of the forces for maintaining themselves by supplies furnished, carried or captured. The coal endurance of a ship, as ordinarily understood, is her steaming radius without recoaling. If fresh supplies may be obtained from colliers or coaling-stations, the coal endurance of a fleet may be unlimited. These elements of locomotion and endurance may be applied to either land or sea forces. The army marches, or goes ahorseback, or by rail, or by transports. The navy steams at high or low speed. Supplies and munitions of war can be carried in only limited quantities, either afloat or ashore. Their presence with the forces is a very living element of strategy.

The external elements of strategy are similar to those of tactics;

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that is, they are the natural and artificial features of the whole theatre of war. Roads, railroads, telegraphs, population, vegetation, cities, coast lines, harbors, coaling-stations, repair-shops, the weather, heat, cold, storms, are all external elements of strategy.

In land strategy, the external elements—that is, the features of the country—seem to be the main ones to be considered; whereas in sea strategy it is the internal elements of locomotion and endurance that play the conspicuous part. Everything depends on the sustained mobility of the fleet, largely a combination of speed and coal endurance. Thus is explained the difference in treatment of strategy ashore and afloat, though its essential elements do not differ in principle. It often happens that a comparison of the conditions of the two forms of warfare throws a mutual light on both. For instance, on shore, protection of the lines of communication is everything. These lines are fixed for the time being, and continuous streams of supplies are always passing to the front. In sea warfare the lines of communication are rarely fixed. The units depend largely on distant bases and coaling-stations; and such supplies as may be sent directly from home may never follow any established route.

The elements of tactics and strategy may sometimes be invoked to clarify thought in regard to disputed matters of policy. For instance, some years ago a French school advocated numerous small gunboats and torpedo-boats in place of a few ironclads; and, even in this country, at this day, there are people who believe it would be a good plan to stop building battle-ships and turn our whole attention to submarines. Considering the matter first in the light of the elements of tactics, there does not seem to be any self-evident conclusion in sight. If the one battle-ship and the many gunboats or submarines are actually on the field of battle within reach of each other, it may go hard with the battle-ship. But first to get them there. That concerns strategy. The elements are locomotion and endurance. Granted that the small vessels have sufficient locomotion and can make sea voyages, is it not endurance, or the power of continuous self-sustainment, in which they are totally lacking? The battle-ship carries the nation's power to any part of the world, and is independent of supplies for long periods. The gunboats and submarines are helpless without a moving base, and unless the moving base is a battle-ship, she too is helpless. This consideration seems to indicate that the battle-ship is an

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essential unit of the fleet, even granted that the smaller craft are thoroughly efficient in their own peculiar sphere.

This habit of looking to the state of the elements as the mould in which tactics and strategy are cast thus helps considerably in arriving at an orderly analysis of the material and immaterial circumstances of war, and the preparation for war. Moreover, there have been no contests of equally matched civilized nations afloat or ashore for more than a generation. The elements of tactics and strategy have changed greatly in that time. Hence, an orderly analysis of the elements of tactics and strategy, with a special view to these changes, would seem to present the best chance of determining how the great battles are to be won.

Tactics and strategy having been shown to depend mainly on the internal and external elements already discussed, it may be asked if everything is not liable to be entirely upset by the mere personal qualities of the forces and their leaders. To this the only answer is, Yes. Yet personal qualities do not affect the form of the tactics and strategy of the age. They do affect the results of campaigns and battles. Tactics and strategy take for granted certain normal personal qualities on the part of the combatants, in much the same way that they take for granted a certain mean state of the external elements in any age. The tactics of civilized troops against savages may vary greatly according to circumstances, but the normal tactics of the age is not thereby affected. Personal qualities are moral, physical and intellectual, and in actual results they count for perhaps more than all else. The spirit, or *esprit,* of the same force at different times is also one of the most important of the controlling forces. The development of this *esprit,* even in defeat, is a psychological study worthy of very patient attention on the part of the leaders. As personal qualities have not changed materially since the earliest times, the knowledge of character, to be gained by the study of warfare in all ages, would alone pay for the outlay of time and labor necessary to that end. But, as has been seen, there are other valuable lessons as well.

Writers sometimes speak of the rules of war, as in the phrase, "this general violated all known rules of war." Other writers ridicule the ideas of such rules. They say that Napoleon defeated his adversaries because their ideas were cast in the old formal mould, which he broke through at will. Was it not rather that he

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the better appreciated the changed conditions, and acted more in accordance with true principles? Such writers notwithstanding, there are certain axioms, rules, principles, or maxims of war that cannot be violated with impunity. They are the result of common sense and experience. Such are: Be prepared, strike quickly before the enemy is able to make out your plan, surprise him if possible, avoid as a rule doing what he expects, select ground that permits of operating by interior lines (the distances are shorter), do not make a frontal attack when the flank may be turned, protect your own flanks, do not have your line of retreat leading from a flank (an attack on that flank may cut you off), protect your communications, threaten the enemy's, do not divide your forces except in unusual circumstances, and, above all, the grand principle of war, be superior to the enemy in one way or another at the actual point of contact. Call these what you will, rules of war, axioms, or principles. They are really plain common sense, and the admiral or general who has the most of them stored away in his head, whether obtained by study or by actual experience, and recognizes the occasion for their use, is the man who wins.

Illustrations and comparisons are often misleading, yet war may be likened to the workings of a complex machine. The elements of tactics and strategy are the mould in which its parts are cast; the personal qualities of the combatants are the temper and durability of the various substances entering into its composition; discipline and training are the lubrication and adjustment of the working parts; the general or the admiral is the operator; and the maxims of war, added to his own common sense, are the rules that govern him in deciding when and how, and where, to demand of the machine its predetermined output.

A comprehensive view of war as affecting any country will take into account every circumstance that can be shown to have a bearing. Tactics, strategy and personal qualities, in their broad aspects, all enter. It is not a naval question, nor a military question. The whole armed force of the nation, ashore and afloat, will be in demand. The grand strategy of the war reckons with everything. Incidentally, in our own country, some of the machinery is lacking for this comprehensive planning of wars. It has so long been the custom to regard the army and the navy as occupying entirely different spheres, that it is actually difficult to consider them as merely parts of one harmonious whole. They

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are really as essential to each other, and as much dependent on the fundamental principles of war, as are, for instance, infantry, cavalry, and artillery in the army, or battle-ships, cruisers, and torpedo-boats in the navy. There is only one science of war, and this science includes a critical knowledge of the principles of action of all the branches of the national defence. Such knowledge is indispensable to the authority that controls the conduct of the war, that is, the President, as Commander-in-Chief, advised by his Cabinet officers. The President may, and will, seek also the advice of the senior officers of the army and navy; but this advice must, in the nature of things, often be one-sided and sometimes contradictory. However good a man may be President, and however able are his advisers, they are handicapped in time of national danger by the absence of a constituted body organized to perform these duties only, by the lack of a continuous study of war plans, and by a lack of files of such plans previously perfected. It will not do to call on the army and navy for their separate plans, which will lack comprehensiveness and unity. A supreme war council, superior to both army and navy, permanently organized, and advisory to the President, would seem to meet this want. It would be a National General Staff, drawing on the materials collected by the general staffs of the army and navy.*

In conclusion, there does not seem to be any adequate reason why a thoughtful citizen should not, at the expense of a moderate amount of time and labor, directed somewhat as here outlined, add much to his knowledge of the grand principles that control wars, be the better able to appreciate the wars of history, and, of more importance still, have an accurate insight into matters affecting the military and naval policy of his country. For, if the underlying principles of war are non-technical, they are to be apprehended by the educated civilian; who will thenceforth think for himself on military and naval subjects, nor continue, as in the past, to regard all such matters as a closed book.

ROY C. SMITH.

*** This article was prepared in April, 1903, before the creation of the Joint Board on National Defence, and before it was known to the writer that the Board was contemplated.**

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THE POETRY AND POETS OF AMERICA.—III.

BY CHURTON COLLINS.

SYDNEY SMITH, having occasion to discuss some subject with Lord Melbourne, and knowing that great man's habit of indulging very liberally in a certain expletive, proposed that they should save time by assuming that the said expletive had been applied to everything, and proceed to business. I propose to deal similarly with Longfellow's hostile critics. Let it be conceded at once that he had little, if any, originality; that he would have been nowhere without the lyric poetry of Germany, of which his own is often merely an echo, without the literatures of Europe generally, to which almost everything he has written can be traced; that he had no depth of thought; that he had neither sublimity nor passion; that he failed egregiously when he attempted anything ambitious; that he succeeded most when he was most modest; that he never composed a line beyond the comprehension of the *bourgeoisie,* nay, of intelligent boys and girls, and very much which was dedicated and intimately appealed to them. And yet it remains that, to thousands, whose tastes have been formed by the sympathetic study of the aristocrats of classical poetry, and who are compelled to acknowledge the justice of these allegations, they come, like those grating truths which we wish were falsehoods. It is like listening to reproaches on those we love; distressed and irritated, we long to retort on those who utter them. And, indeed, there is something almost sacred in the fame of Longfellow; for to how many thousands, to how many hundreds of thousands, is his poetry consecrated by its associations. As Froude beautifully says of the silvery cadences of our liturgy, that they "chime like church-bells in the ear of the English child," and haunt his memory with their music long after childhood has passed, so, like church-

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bells have chimed for our children another music as silvery and as haunting—the music of this sweetest of poets. To how many a death-darkened household, to how many a life clouded with the cares or bending under the burdens which few escape, has his poetry brought balm and sunshine and encouragement. Such poetry as his is no more intended for critics than the Bible was intended for theologians, or the spring that gushes forth and refreshes the toil-worn traveller, to supply material for analytical chemistry.

And yet is there much satisfaction in showing that, even on the application of high and exacting critical standards, even if we accept Sainte-Beuve's theory that the question for us is not whether we admire any given work but whether we ought to admire it, even from this point of view, Longfellow's admirers have nothing to fear. He is almost always sound in quality, and sound in style. Even where sentimentally he is thinnest and most trite, as in "The Footsteps of Angels," "The Rainy Day," "The Bridge," "The Reaper and the Flowers," "Children," we are touched and rightly touched; for the pathos, though so simple, is so genuine, and its expression so exquisite in its propriety. "The Psalm of Life" is a noble poem, and all the mouthings of it in Infant Schools and in Young Men's Christian Associations, and all the strummings of "middle class" pianos will never make it other than noble. Though his themes are so often the themes so dear to Eliza Cook and her circle, his refinement and tact always enabled him to maintain a level above commonplace. He was never trivial; his style never lacks distinction. His range and power as a lyric poet and balladist would be best seen by placing beside the poems which have just been referred to, "The Skeleton in Armor," and "Victor Galbraith," which have a fire and verve rare with him, the impressive and noble quatrains in the "Arsenal at Springfield," the exquisitely pathetic verses entitled "Weariness," and the "Bells of Lynn," with its finely-cadenced lilt and swing. "The Building of the Ship" cannot bear comparison with Schiller's "Das Lied von der Glocke" which was its model, but the concluding lines, the apostrophe to the Union, have all the fervor and strength of Whittier's lyric when at its very best, and must go to the heart of every true American. Of his longer poems, "The Tales of a Wayside Inn" will scarcely add to his reputation; but the

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"Saga of Olaf" shows how faithfully he could catch and render the note of the Eddas. "The Golden Legend," whatever exception may justly be taken to its infirmities of structure and want of unity and concentration, contains, fragmentarily, some of his very best and strongest work; Elsie's chant, in the fifth part, beginning "The night is calm and cloudless," is one of the most exquisite lyrics to be found in his poetry. His most powerful work, from a dramatic point of view, is the "Courtship of Miles Standish," but the works in this group on which his fame will rest are of course "Evangeline" and "Hiawatha." Of "Evangeline," it would be impertinent to say anything more than that it is the crown and flower of American Idyll, a poem which stands with our own Goldsmith's "Deserted Village," at the head of that poetry which a nation enshrines in its heart of hearts. If any one wished to make out a case for Longfellow's claim to what is universally denied him, originality, he would do well to take his stand on "Hiawatha." He may have borrowed his form and metre from the "Kalevala," his material from books in his library, and have failed, as he always does fail, in concentration and unity; yet he at least broke new ground, and produced a work of singular charm, which had no prototype in art.

As a translator, he is all but unrivalled. I am not speaking of the hideous fidelity of his version of Dante, but of such masterpieces as his version of the "Coplas" of Manrique, of Salis' "Silent Land," of Muller's "Beware," of Uhland's "Castle by the Sea" and the versions from the Swedish and Danish. Perhaps the only poems of Longfellow to which, generally speaking, justice has not been done are his Sonnets; but some of these Sonnets are among the finest ever written in any language; such would be "Dante," and the first and second of those on the "Divina Commedia"; excellent, also, if in a less degree, are the three others, as well as "Nature," "Giotto's Tower" and "Chaucer"—but nearly all are good.

Many would no doubt dispute Longfellow's title to be considered America's greatest poet; probably no one would dispute his title to be considered her greatest poetic artist. His supremacy there is confirmed alike by the range of his attainment and by its quality. It is a long way from the most exquisite of his lyrics to such lyrics as the "Saga of King Olaf" and "Victor Galbraith," from the "Voices of the Night" and

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"Birds of Passage" to the "Courtship of Miles Standish," from the Sonnets to "Hiawatha," from "The Golden Legend" to "Evangeline"; and in every one of these experiments his success has been universally acknowledged. It is no small achievement to have been able to sound again the note of the Sagas and the Kalevala, the note of Manrique, the note of Dante, the notes of Goethe, of Schiller, of Uhland and of Heine, not as a mere imitator, but as a kinsman and copartner in inspiration; to have created a style admirable alike in lexis and in rhythm, the perfection of purity, lucidity, and propriety, with a music all its own, equally harmonious but never monotonous, because in gracious and exquisite harmony with every conception and every emotion that inspired it.

And so, having reconducted him to where he is safe from hostile criticism, we will reverently and gratefully leave him, without adding to the impertinences of that criticism by any attempt to settle his relative place among modern poets.

From the great New England trio we come to the most versatile of American men of letters, Bayard Taylor. Sensitive, receptive, finely touched and finely tempered, with a faculty of fluent expression and production, which few, even of his own countrymen, have rivalled, he dedicated a life of crowded experience and of almost limitless industry to literary work. In serious poetry, there was scarcely any note which he did not strike. Studies from the Greek, studies in Oriental life, studies in Italian life, studies in Pennsylvanian, in Californian, in Norse life: lyrics in every key and in almost every measure, Pindaric, Hafizian, Shelleyan; threnody and dithyramb, love-song and war-song, state-song and ballad: narratives and idylls of equal range and variety: drama, ideal, realistic, lyrical. And if it be said, as it may with justice be said, that he failed conspicuously in nothing except when he became metaphysical, we must not grudge him the tribute to which such gifts and such achievements are entitled, the tribute of admiration. But no poetry of a high or even of any permanent value at all has ever had its root in what we admire in Taylor. He is, like Willis, little more than an *improvisatore*. His poems having no unity and no enthusiasm, either moral or spiritual, are mere studies in song. He has neither depth nor distinction, neither subtlety nor power in reserve. At his best, he is above mediocrity, but, with very rare

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exceptions, below excellence. How incomparably inferior, for example, is the Bedouin Song, praised so highly by Mr. Stedman, to Shelley's "Lines on an Indian Air" which it so nearly recalls, and which apparently inspired it. The very exquisite verses from "Euphorion" on the death of a friend's child, quoted by Mr. Stedman, seem to me to stand absolutely alone in his poetry:

"And Death, that took him, cannot claim
The smallest vesture of his birth,
The little life, a dancing flame
That hover'd o'er the hills of earth.

"The finer soul, that unto ours
A subtle perfume seem'd to be,
Like incense blown from April flowers
Beside the scarred and stormy tree.

"The wondering eyes, that ever saw
Some fleeting mystery in the air,
And felt the stars of evening draw
His heart to silence—childhood's prayer."

And more exquisite verses never came from a poet's pen. An achievement far more valuable than any of his original poems—except, indeed, for touches and fragments, is his admirable version of Goethe's "Faust." With Taylor are associated four poets, one of whom is justly distinguished, while the other three have at least individualized themselves—T. B. Aldrich, Stoddard, Boker and Read. As a writer of *vers de société*, as a balladist, lyrist, and descriptive poet, Aldrich is among the most accomplished and pleasing of American poets, as such poems as his "Palabras Cariñosas," "Babie Bell" and "Lynn Terrace" amply testify. Stoddard is the author of some pretty lyrics, of some respectable blank verse, and of a threnody on Lincoln which unfortunately invites comparison with Marvell and Tennyson; Boker of some dramas which have gone the way of W. H. Wills's, and of some pleasing lyrics and ballads. Read produced a good descriptive poem, "The New Pastoral," at least one pretty lyric, "Drifting" and a war song of real merit, "Sheridan's Ride." With this group of poets may be classed Dr. Thomas William Parsons, a scholarly and accomplished poet, whose lines "On a Bust of Dante," if perhaps overpraised, have real merit, and John James Piatt, a representative poet of the Middle West.

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In singular contrast to the poetic activity of the New England and Pennsylvanian schools was the sterility of the South. It had only produced three poets whose names are worth recording. Henry Timrod, the author of "The Cotton Boll," had a touch of genius; and of merit also is the work of Paul Hamilton Hayne, who, like our own Southey, was a good man and not a bad poet: his lyrics, "A little While I Fain would Linger" and "In Harbor," are very pleasing. But by far the most distinguished poet of this group was Sidney Lanier. Lanier is plainly a disciple of Poe, whose music he often closely recalls, but he was a man of rich and fine genius, over which, however, he had no control and which seems to have intoxicated him. "The very inner spirit and essence of all wind-songs, passion-songs, sex-songs, soul-songs, and body-songs"—so he wrote of himself—"hath blown upon me like the breaths of passion, and sailed me into a sea of vast dreams, whereof each wave is at once a vision and a melody." So it is with him in such poems as the really superb "Marshes of Glynn," "Sunrise," "Corn," "Psalm of the West," "Nirvana," in such lyrics as "The Sun has Kissed the Violet Sea," the verses to Nielsson, and in the less intense but most charming "Song of the Chattahoochee." But Lanier failed to do justice to his genius as a poet, by deliberately fettering himself with a most mistaken theory. He endeavored to blend and reconcile what is peculiar to music with what is peculiar to poetry, so that his poetry tends to confine itself to the expression of what is more appropriately expressed by the sister art, too often resolving into mere sensuous melody and vague dreamy suggestiveness; but his poetry is full of beauty and charm.

Very different were the strains coming from the Pacific slope. There a poet appeared who at one time promised to be among the most eminent, as he is certainly among the most remarkable, whom America has produced. Of the genius of Joaquin Miller there can be no question. His "Songs of the Sierras" struck a new and powerful note. Full of fire and passion and color, with all the race and flavor of the wild, rich world of their nativity, they swept along, like his own Vaquero,

> "On stormy steed,
> His gaudy trappings tossed about and blown
> About the limbs as lithe as any reed."

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And the woods, where

> "Birds hang and swing, green rob'd and red,
> Or droop in curved lines dreamily,
> Rainbows reversed, from tree to tree;"

and monkeys run through the leaves,

> "Like shuttles hurried through and through
> The threads a hasty weaver weaves.
> And, the long days through, from blossom'd trees
> There comes the sweet song of sweet bees,
> With chorus tone of cockatoo's
> That slides his beak along the bough,
> And walks and talks and hangs and swings
> In crown of gold and coat of blue;"

and the land of the tornado, when

> "The tasselled tops of the pines are as weeds,
> And the redwoods rock like to lake-side reeds,
> And the world seems darkened and drowned forever,"

the land of sun-maids "tawny-red like wine" with "rivers of hair and hearts of gold"—all this had found its poet. But Miller never got beyond the "Songs of the Sierras"; to the themes of which, or to themes kindred to them, he always returned, when he had anything distinctive to say. What seemed, therefore, a work of splendid promise included the fulfilment of that promise. Shallow-rooted and without buds, his poetry flaunted into full life a gaudy, broad-blown flower. But it was no exotic.

Of native growth, also, and no exotic was the prodigious product of transatlantic genius which we have now to inspect. One of the most accomplished and scholarly of English critics, the late John Addington Symonds, told us that we were to see in Walt Whitman "a Behemoth, wallowing in primeval jungles, bathing at fountain heads of mighty rivers, crushing the bamboos and the cane-brakes under him, bellowing and exulting in the torrid air; a gigantic elk or buffalo trampling the grasses of the wilderness, tracking his mate with irresistible energy; an immense tree, a kind of Ygdrasil, stretching its roots deep down into the bowels of the world, and unfolding its magic boughs through all the spaces of the heavens; the circumambient air, in which float shadowy shapes, rise mirage towers and palm groves; the globe

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itself, all seas, lands, forests, climates, storms, snows, sunshines, rains of universal earth; all nations, cities, languages, religions, arts, creeds, thoughts, emotions; the beginning and the grit of these things, not their endings, lees and dregs."*

The greatest of living English poets, on the other hand, sees in the touches which awaken these astonishing elemental melodies only "the dirty and clumsy paws of a harper whose plectrum is a muck-rake," and whose Muse may be resolved into "a drunken apple-woman indecently sprawling in the slush and garbage of the gutter, amid the rotten refuse of the overturned apple stall."†

These have not the accent of impartial criticism. It may, perhaps, assist us to a more balanced estimate, if we assume the truth of three propositions; namely, that if a man six feet high, "of striking masculine beauty and of venerable appearance," chooses to stand on his head in the public streets, and proceed to other improprieties of which the police take cognizance, he will at least attract notice, and create some excitement; secondly, that the law of reaction in literature, as in everything else, will assert itself, that, when poetry has long attained perfection in form and has been running smoothly in conventional grooves, there is certain to be revolt both on the part of poets themselves and in the public taste, and the opposite extreme will be affected and welcomed; and, thirdly, if a writer has the courage or impudence to set sense, taste and decency at defiance, and posing sometimes as a mystic and sometimes as a mountebank to express himself in the jargon of both, and yet has the genius to irradiate his absurdities with flashes of wisdom, beauty and inspired insight, three things are certain to result. Those who sympathize with the reaction of which he is the representative will dwell with ecstasy on the very little which is the salt of his work, will either ignore the rest, or, coming to it with judgment prejudiced by their admiration for what is vital and excellent, invest it with factitious merits. Those of conservative tastes will dwell only on what disgusts and offends them, and have no eyes for anything else; and those who belong to neither party, but are quite willing to judge what they find on its own merits, will be perplexed and probably misled by the conflicting opinions so importunately pronounced with all the heat of partisanship by the others.

* "A Study of Walt Whitman," pages 155, 156. † "Whitmania."

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This is precisely what has happened in the case of Whitman. There can be little doubt that he employed the style which he affected, as well as the shameless obscenities of such pieces as "The Children of Adam," to attract attention. It was a cheap and easy means of attaining a unique position as a poet. Nor was his mode of expression his only expedient for securing singularity. Since Rousseau, no man had presented himself absolutely nude to the public gaze. That edifying spectacle was now repeated, and all who were interested in such exhibitions could inspect and contrast them at their leisure; and, certainly, the stalwart and virile American showed to great advantage beside the puny and emasculated Frenchman. Having thus succeeded, as might have been expected, not indeed in gaining respect, but in drawing all eyes upon him, he proceeded to pile eccentricity upon eccentricity and extravagance upon extravagance. A celebrated statesman once observed, on being informed that the English people would not "stand" a certain measure which he was preparing to carry, that his experience had shown him that the limits of what they would "stand" had never yet been discovered. But what they would "stand" in art—the American people, it must be remembered, were never hoodwinked by him—Whitman resolved to try. He gave them page after page of mere jabber, of twaddle so absolutely drivelling that it fascinated by its sheer audacity. Sometimes it assumed the form of inanities and platitudes, such as any man of average intelligence would, even in familiar conversation, be ashamed to utter; sometimes it strung together long lists of names transcribed from maps and gazetteers, introduced with a "What do you see, Walt Whitman?" extracts from Natural Histories, travels and scientific treatises and even newspapers; more often it expressed itself in transcendental or political ravings. Altogether, it presented a phenomenon the like of which had not only never been seen before, but the like of which would have seemed to any sane man impossible outside the cells of a lunatic asylum. But Whitman was no lunatic, and well knew what he was after. All this was merely, in his own words, "Drum-Taps,"—the arts of the astute showman, to collect a crowd for a show which, in some respects, was well worth seeing.

But when we come even to Whitman's serious and genuine work, large deductions have to be made for what it would be

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unduly harsh to call charlatanry, but which certainly comes very near it. His "chants," for that is the term he affected, have been called poetry in solution, but what is in solution in them is not his own poetry but the poetry of others. This "most original of American writers" is, in truth, more indebted to his predecessors and contemporaries than any other American writer. He simply resolved into his own diffuse jargon, and revoiced in his own barbaric yawp, what had been expressed legitimately, in the true form of poetry or in simple prose, by Burns and Blake, by Wordsworth, by Goethe, by Shelley, by Tennyson, by Carlyle, by Emerson, by Thoreau and by many others. Whether his appropriations were conscious and deliberate, or whether they were the result of what was in the air, so to speak, scarcely affects the point of importance. He was not, what by a trick of expression he affected to be, original in anything that was sane in his philosophy and propaganda. I have not space for more than one illustration, but it is typical of myriads. Wordsworth wrote, and wrote as a poet:

> "The stars of midnight shall be dear
> To her: and she shall lean her ear
> In many a secret place,
> Where rivulets dance their wayward round,
> And beauty born of neighboring sound
> Shall pass into her face."

Whitman writes, *more suo:*

> "There was a child went forth every day:
> And the first object he looked upon, that object he became
> And that object became part of him for the day, or
> A certain part of the day, or for many years or
> Stretching cycles of years. . . .
> The horizon's edge, the flying sea-crow: the fragrance of salt marsh and shore-mud:
> These became part of that child who went forth
> Every day, and who now goes and will always go forth every day."

"Plainly," as Mr. Stedman naïvely observes, "there are some comparative advantages in Wordsworth's treatment of this idea." It is pitiable to see a critic like Addington Symonds exalting Whitman into a bard and prophet, and dwelling fondly on the inspired power and beauty of chants, or portions of chants, which,

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he must have known, were simply centos with Whitmanian dilutions or extravagances from Goethe, or Wordsworth, or Thoreau, or Emerson. It was this sort of homage which confirmed Whitman in his megalomania, in that monstrous and ludicrous egotism which led him to preach, and finally no doubt to believe, that, to employ his own jargon, he was all, and that all was he. To speak quite plainly, Whitman began by being in some respects a charlatan, and paid the penalty by becoming at last something very like a maniac. He had to pay also another penalty mortifying to his vanity, and, to do him justice, to a nobler instinct. He aspired to be the poet of the democracy, but the democracy would have nothing to do with him; and it was right, as it almost always is, in its judgment of what appeals to it. He has been compared to Blake, whom in some respects he nearly resembles; but, as Professor Nichol puts it, Blake was a prodigious genius marred by almost insane violence, Whitman a writer of almost insane violence occasionally redeemed by touches of genius.

How, then, are we to explain the fascination which his work has undoubtedly had, and still has, for so many? Making all due deductions for what has been explained already, there can of course be no question about Whitman's genius. Had he been true to it, he would have stood high among genuine poets; for, on the rare occasions when he is true to it, he has lyric notes of thrilling power, he has pathos, he has passion, and in his nature pictures he has often a magical touch. At times, true enthusiasm possessed and inspired him, and there is no mistaking its accent. A poem like "Pioneers," firm-blown and from the heart, rings like a clarion. The poem "When Lilacs Last" and the shorter piece "O Captain, My Captain" are noble threnodies. "Out of the Cradle endlessly Rocking" is at times beautiful alike for its pathos, nature-painting and rhythm. A poem, again, like the "Vigil on the Fields" comes from the heart and goes to the heart. In "Sea Drift" there is more which reveals him at his very best, for he is generally at his best when the sea and elementary forces are his themes. Nor can it be denied that his strange, uncouth mode of expression had at times wonderful charm.

Another secret of his fascination is his impressive and imperious personality and his cosmopolitan sympathies and gospel. If, in the first, there is much which is grotesque and disgusting, there is more which justly commands admiration. Every inch a

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man, big-brained, big-hearted, fearless, resolute and robust, he is not only the incarnation of strength, but he is the soul of independence and philanthropy. Art and the humanities may look askance on him, as he on them; but mother Nature, to whom alone he did homage, had every reason to regard with pride one of the loyallest and most stalwart of her children. And, indelibly as his vices, follies and infirmities, is all this—and it is very attractive—impressed on his writings. Though there is nothing original in his propaganda or in his prophecies, he is among the heralds of the mighty future—before America, before mankind,—of the Republic of Republics, of world federation, of universal brotherhood, of the religion of humanity, of the "one God, one law, one element" of Tennyson's vision. No one can read unmoved such poems as "By Blue Ontario's Shore," "Thou Mother with thy Equal Brood," "Song of the Broad Ax," and "The Mystic Trumpeter." Let us listen to one of his clear notes:

"Marches of victory—man disenthral'd—the conqueror at last.
Hymns to the Universal God from universal man—all joy
A re-born race appears—a perfect world, all joy!
Women and men in wisdom, innocence and health—all joy!
War, sorrow, suffering gone—the rank earth purg'd—nothing but joy left.
The ocean fill'd with joy—the atmosphere all joy—
Joy, joy in freedom, worship, love! joy in the ecstasy of life!
Enough to merely be! enough to breathe!
Joy! joy! all over joy!"

But Whitman's virtues will be of no more avail, and all he has left will inevitably fall "into the portion of weeds and outworn faces." The world never respects a man who does not respect himself, and to bawl out indiscriminately "what should be said and what should not be said" was a synonym with the Greeks for a scoundrel. Of this offence, Whitman was guilty, not accidentally but on principle, not morally only, but intellectually and æsthetically. He was, no doubt, what he was fond of calling himself, a child of Nature, and his admirers have called him the poet of nature: but no *poet* can be true to nature who is not true to art.

We now pass to a poet as essentially native as Miller and Whitman, but standing in remarkable contrast to both. If Miller is the most diffuse and Whitman the most extravagant and lawless of the native school, Bret Harte is the most concise and restrained. His reputation as a humorist has eclipsed his reputation as a

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serious poet, and he will no doubt live by his prose stories; but his serious poetry has scarcely had justice done to it. Much, indeed the greater part, of his verse was, no doubt, produced as mere journeyman work, and certainly does not rise above the level of what a skilful craftsman could, in the cause of that work, easily turn out. With this we need not trouble ourselves. It is in a narrow sphere that his distinction lies; it lies in the clairvoyant vividness and thrilling power with which he realizes and presents a pathetic scene or incident, in his faculty of piercing to the heart of some dramatic situation or circumstance, and reproducing it with corresponding nearness and truth, and in the nerve and grip of his narrative. Nothing could exceed the power and pathos of "The Station-master of Lone Prairie," or the charm and pathos of "Dickens in Camp." Even such waifs as "Jim" and "In the Tunnel" smite the tears into our eyes. "Guild's Signal" may owe its pathos—and what pathos there is in it!—to the fact, but how admirably is that fact presented; in "Grandmother Tenterden" he is again at his best. The exquisite little poem "The Mountain Heart's-ease" is in another vein. In "Ramon," "The Hawk's Nest," "Dow's Flat," and in "The Old Camp-fire," we have leaves from a life which no one has painted like Bret Harte. "Miss Blanche Says" and "For the King" are spoilt by too great fidelity to a bad model, Browning, and "Conception de Arguello" by a fault very rare with Bret Harte, diffuseness. His style, terse, lucid and sinewy, "with its sabre-cuts of Saxon speech," is all his own, and has set American realistic poetry to a new tune. Bret Harte has great versatility. When he strikes the notes which other poets have struck, it is generally with added charm. In spite of Longfellow there is room for such a poem as "The Angelus," and in spite of Praed and Owen Meredith room for "Her Letter." As a humorist he stands on a much lower level, and whether, as Professor Nichol opined, he must often have wished "to hang that Heathen Chinee, and to give the lie to Truthful James, and wring the neck of the Emeu and 'cave in' the heads of the whole Society on the Stanislaus," I cannot, of course, say, but it is very certain that they have intervened between the lower reputation which they have given him and the higher reputation to which he is justly entitled. Nor can it be denied that they are, *quantum valeat,* perfectly original, and have a most provoking fascination.

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But Bret Harte, even when he is strongest, has a powerful rival in the author of "Jim Bludso of the 'Prairie Bell'" and of "Little Breeches." All lovers of poetry, both in England and in America, must regret that Colonel Hay's crowded life has not left him more leisure to cultivate a genius which, within its range, is as rare and fine as it is virile and powerful. It is not given to many minor poets to strike such notes as we hear in the two poems referred to, in such a sonnet as "The Haunted Room," and in such a lyric as "Remorse." How exquisite is the following:

> "Sad is the vague and tender dream
> Of dead love's lingering kisses
> To crush'd hearts hallow'd by the gleam
> Of unreturning kisses;
> Deep mourns the soul, in anguished pride,
> For the pitiless death that won them;
> But the saddest wail is for lips that died
> With the virgin dew upon them."

And now we descend to the levels where it becomes impossible to distinguish. During the last few years, there have been at least a hundred and fifty poets and poetesses, of very many of whom even the indulgent catholicism of Mr. Stedman has not taken cognizance. And in the case of the majority of these, so uniform is the standard of merit, so essentially similar in quality the work, that distinction depends, not on any application of critical tests, but purely on the accidents of personal taste. Nor has this poetry, throughout its whole range, any landmarks or eminences; whether we regard it comprehensively, or in relation to those who have individually contributed to it, nothing stands out in striking singularity. In the minor poetry of almost all periods and of almost all nations, there are particular poems with which every one is familiar, and in the writings of most minor poets there are particular poems with which we instantly associate them. But this cannot be said of any of these poets. Even the best of them remind us, I fear, of what Dr. Johnson said of the Giant's Causeway—it was worth seeing, but it was hardly worth going to see. If their volumes happen to come in our way, the chances are that we turn over their pages with real pleasure. We are pretty sure to find a pure and wholesome tone, refinement, grace, often charm, all the marks of careful culture based in many cases on a sympa-

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thetic acquaintance with European *belles-lettres,* and a power of expression and a skill in technique, generally, which fifty years ago would only have been found in the work of masters. But it is, we feel, the poetry of accomplished artists, who do not sing because they must, but because they can. Eclectic and cosmopolitan, or trivially native, it is essentially the work of art and too often of nothing but art, with no root in life, national or individual; in its themes, a weary sameness; in its tone and spirit, a certain insincerity, or at all events a lack of genuine enthusiasm where enthusiasm is affected. Here and there, particular poems and particular poets may be found whose work would, in justice, require some modification of this criticism. And, certainly, an honorable place in these exceptions must be claimed for three poetesses; Mrs. Thaxter's lyrics have at times true inspiration and great charm, particularly when her themes are the sea and bird life. The refined and thoughtful sonnets of Mrs. Chandler Moulton can never lack grateful appreciation, and more than one of her simple and tender lyrics will long be gems in every anthology. But a far higher place than belongs to either of these poetesses must be assigned to Miss Helen Hay, whose sonnets and lyrics have both subtlety and power, and whose last work, "The Rose of Dawn," in its rich picturesqueness, dramatic intensity and sustained power seems to me the most memorable contribution which has recently been made to American poetry.

But it is time to conclude. The future of American poetry is as dark as that of our own, and criticism is not concerned with prophecy. The immediate prospect is, it must be owned, not encouraging on either side of the Atlantic. In the sphere of intellectual activity, nothing is seriously energetic but Science, or vitally influential but the scientific spirit; and what that spirit has engendered, the spirit of investigation, analysis and criticism is ubiquitous. Under this deadly solvent of the spiritual and imaginative faculties of man, their two creations, poetry and theology, seem to be melting away, the one resolving itself into an æsthetic appeal to the senses, the other into a code of ethics. Materialism and wealth-accumulating labor and luxury, with all that accompanies and all that follows in their train, have and must inevitably have the effects which Wordsworth, Emerson and Ruskin attributed to them. Literature generally will degenerate, as it has degenerated, into little more than a means of affording

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recreation and amusement to those whose serious interests and occupations are elsewhere; and poetry will cease to appeal, or will share, as it now shares, in this degradation. But Man's finer and nobler energies can only be depressed, they can never be extinguished or even lose their vitality. Unerring and inevitable as the law of gravitation in the physical, is the law of reaction in the spiritual, world. Materialism—and let us understand the word in its most comprehensive sense—has still a long course to run. Of that we may be quite sure. But all that poetry represents and vindicates can never fail at last to assert itself. Very different, however, from the poetry of the past must be the poetry of the future. It will not imp its wing from the mythology of Olympus and Hippocrene, nor seek inspiration from

> "Siloa's brook that flowed
> Fast by the Oracle of God."

It is more likely to find its inspiration in the immense, emancipated, undeveloped life, with its infinite potentialities and possibilities, which is unfolding itself in the New World, than in the more contracted, tradition-trammelled life of the Old. Its themes, we may be sure, will be the themes in the treatment of which Whitman fumbled and stammered, its religion and ethics the religion and ethics of which Emerson was the prophet. In a word, it is likely to be a poetry the features of which have been more clearly, if still dimly, adumbrated in the genius typical of America, than in the genius typical of any of the European nations. And, it may be that, if she has had to wait long for her poet, for her Shakespeare, for her Goethe, he will come at last, the songster of a fuller day, if not to supersede, to stand beside, them; and the famous prophecy find its fulfilment, not politically only, but in his advent also:

> "Westward the course of Empire takes its way;
> The four first acts already past,
> A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
> Time's noblest offspring is his last."

CHURTON COLLINS.

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THE SON OF ROYAL LANGBRITH.

BY WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

PART III.

XIV.

LATE in the afternoon of the following Saturday, Anther stopped his horse in front of the business block, as it called itself, where Judge Garley had his office over the National Bank. It was the only brick building in Saxmills, and the office of the judge was itself approached by an outer stairway of the prevalent wooden construction. The doctor met him on the landing at the moment when he turned from turning the key in his door.

"Going for the day?" he asked, with a disappointment which he could not keep out of either his face or his voice.

"Not if you're coming for it," the judge placidly replied. He turned the key in his door again, and hospitably threw it open. "Walk in."

"Oh, I don't know," the doctor apologized, but the judge took no heed of his apology, except to push him in.

"Sit down," he said, and he reached a book from the top of his roll-top desk. "There's something I think you might find interesting. It's more in your line than mine, and *I've* found it interesting. Well, it's important as a matter of medical jurisprudence, too."

"What is it?" the doctor asked listlessly, turning the book over in his lap and fluttering the leaves absently.

"Why, it's a study of the criminal settlement on that island off the northeast coast of Japan, where the Russians colonize their murderers. As they have no capital punishment, except for political offences, they have to do something with their homicides, and they collect them on that island and keep them there for life. It's very curious, especially in its reversion to some old-fashioned theories—the book, I mean. When I was on the bench—and it has been my experience as a criminal lawyer, too—it seemed to me that very few criminals suffered what we called remorse. They wished to disown their crimes, to keep from realizing that they had committed them, and they wished to get off from the penalty; but I could not make out that they were consumingly sorry for them. This man seems to think differently, and he says some things to make you think he

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is right. We generally kill off our murderers before they have time to show remorse, but the Russians keep them, in a kind of cold storage, up there in the latitude of Siberia, and they have opportunities of studying effects that we precipitately deny ourselves the knowledge of. The remorse is long in getting to the surface, but, if this man is right, it is always there, and he has heard it comes out about three o'clock in the morning, in the murderers' dormitories, when they wake rested from the fatigue of their hard day's labor, and begin to think. An interesting phase of their remorse is the pity they feel for their victims."

Anther sat with the book fallen shut in his lap, and he did not seem to have been attentive to all that the judge was saying. When Garley stopped, the doctor asked, "What do you think of a man who takes the life of another's soul—destroys his soul? It was a woman's expression."

The judge smiled intelligently. "I should imagine. But I should doubt whether it could be done. Do you want to engage me for the defence?"

"No," said Anther, falling in with his humor, "he's out of danger from the law—unless—unless some law follows up such fellows where they go."

"The old theory was that some law did," the judge suggested.

"Yes, and we can't tell how much truth there was in it. The base of doubt in me is the immunity which wrong-doing seems to have here. But perhaps it's only an appearance."

The judge laughed, now. "It serves the purpose of a reality in a great many cases. What scrape do you want me to get you out of?"

The doctor got no farther than smiling, though he fell in with the judge's mood, which is the prevailing American mood in the face of any mystery. "Nothing worse than allowing opium to a man who would take it anyway."

"Well, I see that you've decided on your line of defence."

It was a little time before Anther suggested, at an apparent remoteness from the point, "You were never here in Royal Langbrith's day?"

"No, I came here first after my last term in the Assembly, when he had been dead some time. I believe you and I came here about the same time, didn't we?"

"No, I preceded you several years. And I had known him before I came here. We were in college together."

"Am I to infer something against him on that account?" the judge inquired with the jocosity which the doctor had ceased to share, even by so much as a smile.

"He was the Devil," Anther said, with a brevity which was of almost a dispassionate effect.

The judge was amused by the succinctness so far as to observe, "In the case of a living person, that is a sort of language which we should consider actionable, I'm afraid."

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"The things I know of that man—"

Anther stopped, and sat staring at the judge's law-books where they stood ranged on the shelves before him, showing their red labels on their sheep-skin backs with a uniformity in height and shape, broken here and there by cases of pamphlets and documents, and stray pieces of fiction the judge was fond of reading.

"Would fill volumes," the lawyer interpreted with pleasant interest.

Anther came back to himself with a sharp "Yes!" and Judge Garley went on:

"Well, now, do you know, I'm not surprised, somehow. I've come upon one or two things lately, in a professional way, connected with the deceased, that did not smell as sweet as the conventional memory which seems to have blossomed in the dust all over the place. It is very curious! I have sensed for a good while, by that sixth sense which we haven't got a name for yet, that there was something hushed up in regard to that man."

"There is everything hushed up," Anther nodded, frowningly.

"And you mean that you can tell me—?" The judge checked himself, with a laugh for his weakness.

"Not everything, because I don't know everything; but I know enough."

"Squalid things—the kind we don't like to handle, or pretend we don't?"

"Squalid, and lurid, too. He was the Devil."

"There you are, with your actionable language again! It's well for you that our ex-fellow citizen is out of the way."

"Do you believe," Anther asked, "that one of us can do another a wrong so atrocious as to confound the sufferer's conscience?"

"Cause his brother to offend? Isn't that rather a question for our friend Enderby?"

"Perhaps. But what do *you* think?"

"I should say that it was a theory which a great many people would like to urge for a justification, or at least an explanation of their misdemeanors."

The doctor's tragic humor broke in a joyless laugh. "Oh, of course, you are right. It is astonishing how these old theological cobwebs hang on in corners of the brain. What a comfort you legal minds are! *Advocatus diaboli!*"

"Ah, aren't *you* playing that part now? I should be quite willing to leave our ex-townsman in the enjoyment of his canonization, but you seem to want to reopen the case."

"No." Anther relapsed into his gloom. "It can never be reopened. That is the worst of the evil that lives after men. It intertwines itself with so much of the good in the survivors that you can't strike at it without wounding the best and gentlest of them. But I want to tell you, Garley, about that man— Or, no! Why should I bore you, burden you?"

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"Oh, we always like scandal, even concerning the dead. I've allowed that, and I can enjoy yours all the more because I know it isn't idle scandal. Go on, doctor!"

Anther had risen, and he did not sit down at the courteous gesture toward his chair which the judge made.

"Hawberk has got back," he said.

"Ah!" Judge Garley brightened up. "It's he whom you have been allowing the opium? I supposed he always came back permanently cured."

"This time seems to be an exception. He has come back cured of seven-eighths of his ordinary dose, if you can believe him; which you can't. I used to think I could follow his lies, or their probable direction. But I give it up. Beyond having mostly an optimistic character, and being the absolute reverse of the known fact, his mendacity is an ever-new surprise. I give it a harder name than it ought to have. He doesn't mean to deceive, poor soul. It's pure romancing, absolute fiction, but it's no worse. What interested me to-day was the turn which he has taken toward the memory of the man who ruined him. He wanted to persuade me that Royal Langbrith was a fine fellow, with whom he had always been on the best of terms. The fact is—do you want to hear it? Well, I'll tell you anyway—Langbrith did him one of the deadliest and cruelest injuries that ever a man had to bear. You know they were partners in the mills here?"

"I have heard the poetic legend that Hawberk was an ingenious mechanic to whom Langbrith gave a share in the business, and then had to get rid of because he was an opium fiend. Is the legend a little too florid?"

Anther seemed to restrain a burst of fury. When he spoke it was quite pacifically. "You can decide. Hawberk *was* an ingenious mechanic, whose invention put the business on a prosperous basis. He discovered how to make from straw-pulp the light quality of printing-paper which is the specialty of the mills to-day, and which they still have the secret of. Langbrith wanted the whole business. Hawberk had been his partner from the beginning, and he forced Hawberk out under threat of exposing him to his wife, almost maniacally neurotic, in a foolish boy affair with a woman. Hawberk told me, while he could still tell the truth, that there was nothing guilty in the business; but his wife was frantically jealous, and the fact wouldn't have mattered. She would have believed anything against him, because she must." From his own science the judge acknowledged with a nod the point which the doctor made from his. "He brooded upon his injury night and day, till the night and day were one, and there was no sleep in them. Then he took to opium. I prescribed it, as I should have to do again in a case like his, if we were back where we were then with soporifics. He could not have taken choral. But the opium mastered him, while he was still hoping for justice from a man who did

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not know what justice meant. His opium-eating could not be kept a secret in a place like this, and Langbrith had it all his own way. The things that *can* be kept secret are the kind of things *he* did. He had two wives: one, the woman he threatened Hawberk with, in Boston, and never married, and one, the Mrs. Langbrith you know here. He went to town for his debauches of all kinds, and sometimes when he came home so much of his drink-fury remained that he taunted his wife with the other woman. He used to strike her—she has told me, because she had to, and that is how I came to know the other thing. She told me that too, but not until it could not be kept from me any longer. What graves women are for the wickedness of men! I suppose you know it, in your profession; but in mine—!"

Anther had apparently come to an end, but he sank into the chair he had left.

"That does put another complexion on it," the judge said, sobered in his irony, but ironical still. "I don't know that I can dispute your professional superiority as a repository of family mysteries. Your case rather goes beyond any I could boast of, in some features."

"And this," Anther broke out, taking away the handkerchief with which he had been wiping his face, "is the man whom that poor young fool wants to put up a tablet to in the front of the Public Library!"

"I *noticed*," the judge said, "that you seemed to receive the suggestion rather conservatively the other night. I laid it to envy of the deceased."

"Oh, pooh! I know what you mean. I was going to tell you. I do wish to marry her. I don't think she is perfect, and I'm long past the time of marrying for 'love,' as it is called. But to me she is the most sacred of human beings. I have known her from the first days of her hideous marriage, almost from the time when that man took her from her hard work in his mills and made her his slave; for she was that from the beginning."

"Excuse me," the judge interrupted. "I oughtn't to let you go on, if you think I meant to imply what you have inferred. I didn't intend to insinuate that you had the envy of a successor."

"Oh, it doesn't matter. I don't mind *your* knowing what I've told you." Anther stopped there, as if he had lost the thread of his thinking, and the judge made his attempt to restore it to him.

"I had understood that Mrs. Langbrith was the daughter of a minister in the country near here, and was employed in the business in a clerical capacity."

"She wasn't," the doctor said bluntly. "Her father was a starving saint in the hill parish where she was born; but when Langbrith married her, she was a hand in the mills, like forty other girls. It was her inherent dignity that may have given him the notion of something else. Or it may have been *his* dignity. At any rate, he married her and martyred her, even to the blows that fell upon

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her body as well as her soul. I don't say he never fancied her; and she fancied him, poor soul, as long as he would let her; and when she lost all faith in him, she was still his faithful victim. She was so gentle that, though she suffered, she could not resist evil. She was born to keep that commandment. He could outrage her nature, and abuse her to his heart's content, and he could count absolutely upon her silence. He was as safe from her as from the God he found so complaisant to his wickedness."

"Oh, come," the judge remonstrated, ironically still, though he felt the indignant passion that throbbed in Anther's words and respected it; "you mustn't allow yourself to arraign the deity for his way of doing business. How do you know but our friend is paying his shot now in what is not perhaps 'the easiest room in hell'?"

"Why I have come to you," Anther made another of his abrupt breaks from the direct line, "is because I want you to advise me what to do. It is all open between her and me, but she has to live in subjection to some one, and she lives in subjection to her son. She has never positively deceived him in regard to his father, but she has never found the time to tell him what sort of man his father was."

"It would have been difficult," the judge owned, somewhat more gravely.

"I have thought the matter over a thousand times, and tried to imagine some moment when she could have spoken to undeceive him, but I never could make it out. All that I could make out was that every moment's delay rendered the truth more impossible." The judge nodded his large head in unconscious assent. "As time went on, the man became a sort of town myth. He grew into the tradition of a conscript father, the founder of our prosperity, the benefactor of the community; and it would have been an insult to the public faith, as well as a terrible ordeal for the boy, if his real character had been proclaimed."

"I see," the judge assented, with a certain pleasure in the perfection of the situation.

"It became a sort of moral necessity," Anther continued, "to leave the past undisturbed, to let the lie remain. The only man who might have unmasked Langbrith living was held from it by the grip Langbrith had of his throat, and Langbrith dead has been safe from him through the optimistic turn his opium craze has taken in the direction of a legend of close friendship between them. Besides, Hawberk's repute as a liar had become so firmly established that his word wouldn't have counted, in a place where Langbrith's fair fame is the richest jewel of the local history. There couldn't be a more acceptable, a more entirely popular, thing proposed in Saxmills than his commemoration in the way his son has suggested. It wouldn't cost the town anything, and it would be such a credit to it!"

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The doctor laughed for helplessness, and the judge joined in the bitter merriment. "Yes," he assented, with the ponderous movement of his mind, which found expression in his formal and weighty diction, whether he joked or whether he adjudicated. "There appears, as you say, doctor, to be a sort of moral necessity to let lying dogs sleep, if we may reverse the axiom, especially when they have slept long. What is the advantage, the better element might ask, of rending the veil of oblivion from errors which Providence has seen fit to leave in the shadow, doubtless for some wise purpose? The morals of the community, they would contend, would be more contaminated by the effluvium from our late fellow townsman's tomb, if we were to open its ponderous and marble jaws for the purpose of drawing his frailties from their dread abode, than if we were to leave the past undisturbed. They could argue that his success, which is now an example and an incentive to light our young men on the upward way, as long as they suppose it to be founded upon virtue, would be a means of endless corruption if it were known to be the putrescent splendor of his moral rottenness, and would prove an *ignis fatuus* to lure them into the abyss. As far as our community is concerned, doctor, I think you will do better to leave the late Royal Langbrith's memory alone."

"As far as the community is concerned, Garley," the doctor returned hotly, "I think you are perfectly right. But that isn't the point, except for the psychological publicist, if there is such a thing. I am interested solely in the personal view."

"And what is that?"

Anther replied, after a moment of silent chagrin, "I hoped you might have inferred. But it is simply this: Mrs. Langbrith and I both have the belief that our marriage would be abhorrent to her son, not because he has any dislike for me—he is rather fond of me, and I like the boy, when he is off his high horse, and isn't patronizing me—"

"He patronizes me, too," the judge observed; the doctor ignored his reflection in proceeding.

"—but because he has this extraordinary infatuation for his father's memory, and would consider his mother's second marriage with any one a desecration not to be voluntarily endured. Simply, she is afraid to bring our wish to his knowledge, and she is afraid to let me do so. I have been almost a father to the boy from his first years; and, under ordinary circumstances, there would be no reason to suppose that our marriage would be distasteful to him. But as it is—"

Anther stopped, and the judge said, with the air of summing up, "Your conclusion is that the defamation of his father is the only means of—"

"Why do you speak," Anther cried out, "as if his father were an innocent man, and not the wickedest and filthiest scoundrel that ever lived?"

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"My dear old friend," said the judge, leaning forward in his rocking-chair and laying his hand on the doctor's arm, "let us be careful not to employ actionable language, even in regard to those who can only cite us to appear before the higher tribunal, which has no jurisdiction in this county, or, so far as I know, in this State. I quite enter into your feelings, and I should be the first to wish you joy of the fulfilment of your hopes, the fruition of your wishes. But you will certainly not further them by adopting anything like a violent line of expression. Now, go on. The boy has returned to Harvard. Have you seen Mrs. Langbrith since?"

"I parted with her in anger Sunday night. But she had tried my patience beyond endurance. She proposed to me, as a way of propitiating James, that—" Anther choked, and the judge had to prompt him:

"She proposed to you—?"

"Well, that I should humor his notion of putting up this memorial to his father; that I should stultify myself, and help to perpetuate the—the—"

"Careful, careful!" his friend suggested.

"Oh, you know what I mean! I don't believe she felt the enormity of it as I did. She couldn't, in that meek forgivingness of hers. But I left her in anger—yes, for the first time; and I don't see my way to making her understand the shame, the iniquity—"

"Really, you ought to have been a doctor of divinity! I think we can leave your reconciliation with her to nature," and the judge finely smiled at the doctor. "But now, in regard to the son's undeception—or shall we say enlightenment?—is it your notion that some third party might undertake the task of accomplishing the end desired?"

"Oh, I don't know what my notion is," Anther replied, rising with a finality which he expressed in superfluously buttoning his coat about him. The day was a warmish day in April, and he might well have found his winter great-coat uncomfortable, even in driving. With the afternoon sun pouring into the thinly shaded windows of the judge's bare office, it was almost a summer heat in which he had been sitting. He added, with a quick sigh, "I didn't know but you would be able to advise me—"

"I will think it over," the judge promised, with bland placidity, and he turned from taking leave of his friend, and rearranged some papers on his open desk. "By the way," he called after Anther, "I meant to ask you: the brother, who has charge of the business, does he know anything of this double life and character?"

"John Langbrith?"

"Yes. How long has he been in charge?"

"Oh, ever since Langbrith's death. Somebody had to take hold of the business. He was here before that."

"But nothing has ever passed between you and him as to the facts?"

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"Not a word. They were not things I could speak of first, and John Langbrith speaks of nothing. I suppose he talks business, but I have no business to talk with him."

"Does Mrs. Langbrith know whether he knows?"

"We have never mentioned the matter, but I don't believe she does. You know how close he is. He never goes to her except on business, and she has never seen the inside of his house. The mill is his home."

"In his way, he is as successful a secret as his brother?"

"Quite," the doctor said gloomily.

XV.

On his way home to the early tea which Mrs. Burwell's primitive tradition obliged him to accept, in place of anything like a late dinner or later supper, Dr. Anther drove by the Langbrith mansion, and looked hard at it. He turned, when he got by, drove back, stopped his buggy at the gate, and hurried up the brick walk to the door. It was opened, before he could ring, by Mrs. Langbrith. "Both the girls are out," she partially explained, and she could have said further, that the middle-aged serving-women, who were still girls to her, had not outlived their youthful passion for mingling with the crowds which thronged the long main street of Saxmills on pay-day, and that she had yielded to it for the sake of the pleasure which the fine weather would add to their outing. But he paid no heed to her opening words, and she did not go on.

"Amelia," he said with the fervid rashness that was natural to him, "I want to beg your pardon for the way I left you last night."

"Oh!" she murmured so deeply that the murmur was almost a sob.

Then these two elderly people did by one impulse what they had never done before. In the dim hall, beyond which Anther had not tried to penetrate, they cast themselves into each other's arms, and he kissed one cheek of hers, while she buried the other in his neck, and smoothed her silvered brown hair, and kept saying softly, "Poor girl, poor girl, poor girl!"

He kissed her cheek again, as if it were to be the last time as it had been the first, and then he walked slowly and thoughtfully down to the gate, and got into his buggy and let his horse take its own gait and course. Not only a tender patience with her swelled Anther's heart, but an unwonted tolerance for young Langbrith also found room for itself there. What wonder that the boy was reverent of his father's memory, since he knew no evil of him? Was it for this he must be called fool and despised for an ass? Anther saw that there were yet many steps to be taken with regard both to him and his mother, and that they could not be separated in relation to himself. He softened more and more toward the whole situation, and momently the thought of the weakness he had surprised in her consecrated and endeared her to him.

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He drove along the village street with his figure stooped well toward the dashboard, when his ears were saluted with a succession of girlish trebles.

"How do, doctor!"

"How do, doctor!"

"How do, Dr. Anther!"

He looked up blankly, and presently realized that he saw Hope Hawberk, Jessamy Colebridge, and Susie Johns, walking with arms more or less intertwined, along the pavement which he was closely skirting by the erratic preference of his horse. They smiled brightly upon his daze, and nodded gaily to him, hanging over one another and laughing at him over their shoulders when they got by. He gathered himself together to call back to them. "Oh, how do you do?" and the charm of their differing prettiness very sweetly possessed him. They were like his own children to him, in his long intimate acquaintance with their ailments as a physician, and with their accomplishments as chairman of the school board. Their young voices, and their arch, familiar, trustful tones made the blood play warmly about his heart, and he let his horse take him home to supper in a mood which he could not have imagined of himself when he parted such a little while ago from Judge Garley.

The girls walked on down the street toward the denser part of the town, chattering, singing snatches of song, humming and laughing, leaning over to mock at one another, and then straining outward or forward in their fun. They sobered as they got more into the crowds thronging the sidewalks, till they distinguished themselves from the mill-girls by a demure state, which could not leave one in doubt of their quality as village girls who did not work in the mills. Mill-hands of both sexes were exuberantly filling the street, after their release from the week's work, in a tumult of shopping, of carrying on, of courting, which would last far into the night. The young men stood at the corners or lounged along the curbstones, smoking, and challenging the girls to a stand which here and there stopped the way, with giggling and slanging and tussling groups; the girls, when they did not stop, tossed chaff and sauce at the young men over their shoulders and tempted them to pursuit, as they passed chewing gum. But neither the young men nor the girls molested the three friends, who had now separated, and were pushing sinuously through the open spaces toward the post-office. The mill-hands knew who each of them was, and how they were nearly always together; some had been in school with them, or in Sunday-school, and these exchanged nods with them; others who were strangers to them, looked inimically after them, as representatives of class.

The three were not equally friends, though they were all friends. Hope Hawberk was chief among them, and Susie Johns was next her in the understanding that Jessamy Colebridge was capable of being silly at moments when the others would rather have died.

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Without being untrue to her, they sometimes laughed a little at her; but that did not keep either of them from laughing a little with her at something queer in the other. Susie and Jessamy both knew about Hope's father, but her grandmother was of a family which no one in Saxmills could look down on. Her grandfather had been Squire Southfield, once the chief lawyer of the place, and he had been in Congress; though that was a long time ago, and her mother had certainly married beneath her in taking Hope's father. He was then a skilful young mechanic, but it quite passed the knowledge of Hope's friends that he had been a very fascinating fellow, whom such a girl as Hope's mother could not resist. Hope was like him in the dark coloring of her beauty, her dusky hair, and her black eyes; but there was a passionate irregularity of her mouth when she smiled which was the trace of her mother's stormy temperament. She had really more of her father's amiability, which, to the strict New England sense, erred almost to the guilt of easy-goingness. His dreams had not begun with opium. There were psychologists among his critics who regarded the opium as the logical consequence of his dreams, and who, if they had been asked in time, could have prophesied from the first all that he had come to since.

Neither of the three girls expected a letter, but when it seemed that there really was a letter for Susie Johns, Jessamy confessed her own disappointment with a quick "Oh, dear!" in taking the letter from the girl clerk behind the boxes, who severely announced "Ain't nothing for you or Hope." But Hope, if she had a disappointment, hid it under a laugh.

She caught the letter from Susie's lax hand, and said, "Let me read it for you, Susie dear," and Susie wrinkled her nose, and said, "Well, you may." But Hope contented herself with looking at the postmark.

Jessamy joined her in the inspection, and it was she who proclaimed their joint discovery. "It's from Boston! Why, Susie Johns, who's been writing to you from Boston? Oh, I'll bet it's Mr. Falk."

It appeared that the letter was really from Mr. Falk, but not till the girls had left the anteroom of the post-office and made their way back homeward on the up-hill street leading out of the business thoroughfare. Then, when they could have the whole sidewalk to themselves again, each of the others passed a hand through Susie's arms and prepared herself to help her make out any hard words, leaning forward in readiness. Jessamy kept babbling, as Susie read her letter silently through, and by the time she reached the end, Jessamy was offering the twentieth variant of her wonder. "What in the world is he writing to you about?"

"Oh, it's just manners," Susie responded serenely. "I suppose he thought he ought to write and say something pleasant about his visit here."

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"Is that all?" Jessamy innocently protested, and this made Hope laugh.

"What else did you expect there would be?" Susie folded the letter up and put it back in the envelope.

"Well, I don't know. He might have sent some message!"

"He did. He said 'give his regards to all inquiring friends.'"

"Oh, that sounds nice. It's just what *we* say—village people. But I believe Mr. Falk isn't from a very large town. Only you always think students must be like city folks. Dear, I wish *I* had a letter."

"Well," Hope said, "I'll ask Harry Matthewson to write you one."

"No, you mustn't, Hope. Will you, really?"

Susie squealed, "Jessamy Colebridge, you certainly are almost a goose"; and Hope said, "Well, I won't if you don't want me to."

They had come to Jessamy's gate, and Hope pushed her arm through Susie's and ran her on, while Jessamy stood looking in rueful puzzle after them.

"Jessamy *is* such a simpleton. I should think she was a child of ten yet." Hope put her face down on Susie's shoulder and laughed, and when she lifted it Susie put her face down on Hope's shoulder and laughed. Then Susie offered to let Hope read Falk's letter; but Hope had never shown her the letter which she had got from Langbrith the Monday before.

XVI.

Beyond the village, the little lake from which the mills drew their power had been clear of ice for weeks, but its waters had kept the look of winter. The logs weltering at the gates where the current which was to grind them into pulp left the lake, dipped and lifted with a cold wet gleam as they pushed at the pales on the pull of the stream. A day came when the whole aspect of the landscape changed. No leaf had started, and scarcely a bud had swelled on the water-elms that showed their black trunks and boughs amidst the green gloom of the pines and spruces overhanging the shores, and the white nakedness of the birches had not yet clothed itself, except for a thin veil of catkins. But the water had taken a warmth of tone from the sky, which was of a deep blue, heaped with milky clouds roughed to a superficial dusk by the southern wind. Blue-birds rose and sank with the rhythm of their querulous notes in their short flights about the farmsteads and village houses. The robins in the chilly mornings and evenings shouted from the door-yard trees. Ragged lines of blackbirds drifted with a glassy clatter over the woods and rested in their tops, or slanted toward the water, where they showed their iridescent splendors, as they strutted up and down on the logs and parleyed harshly together.

Hawberk sat tilted in his chair against the southern house wall where the sun struck into the garden, and listened with a dim smile to their clatter, coming over to him through a cleft of the land that

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let the lake shine through below the hill. He had begun the joyful day with half a gill of laudanum, and he was feeling the primary effect of the drug in the delicious lassitude he won from it at continually increasing cost. He was smiling, not only at the noise of the blackbirds, but at the comfort of the cat, which had found the stone warm at the base of the sun-dial in the walk of the little garden, and lay coiled there. He liked the look of the dishevelled beds, where the dry litter of the last summer's stalks and stems was mixed with the tawny blades of the grassy borders, and he liked the softly waving plumes of the pines which beckoned to him from the brow of the hill behind the little dwelling. He heard, with the same sensuous pleasure, the jar of the mills below the street on which the house fronted, and he vaguely recalled the relation his life once had to that busy sound, now no more to him than the idle sound of the wind in the pine tops with which it was effectively one. Exquisite thrills passed through his relaxing nerves, and the twitching of his muscles was divinely voluptuous. Then, suddenly, he was in that pit again out of which he had slowly fought his way at the Retreat, but which he knew he must now sink back into day by day. The green dwarf was there as he had not been for a long time, and was at his work of slowly filling in the sides of the pit, making it smaller and smaller, and arabesquing its surfaces with patterns of men's bones. He choked in the thickening air and dug his way upward with his hands, toiling for months, for years, for ages; but the pit was always filled in again, and its roof and sides faced with those hideous arabesques. After centuries, he saw the light break through from above; then the dwarf came slowly overhead, and covered him in again and shut out the light. The groans of his torment ascended continually; when the dwarf extinguished the last gleam, the horror was such that it burst into a scream of despair—a cry of agony so sharp that it cut his dream asunder, and he woke wet with cold sweat, and saw the cat dozing at the base of the dial.

"Father, father!" the voice of Hope called, while she caught his reeking hand in hers.

He tilted forward out of his chair, trembled to his feet and stared around, gasping.

"Oh, Hope, child, don't let me sleep, don't ever let me sleep again. How long have I been here?"

"Only while I could go in and get my hat and a book to read to you. Grandma wanted me a minute."

"It seemed eternity. Don't let me sleep again. I'm all right if I don't sleep. Promise me that."

"Well, I won't, father. But come now—or aren't you able to go up the hill with me?" He had sunk back into his chair, and she kissed his forehead, blotched from the opium, with its sunken eyes beneath it, and the red scars seaming his cheeks from which a sickening odor came. "But must you—*must* you?"

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"Yes, yes, I must. Don't talk to me that way. I must, I tell you. If I had a little, now! Where is it?"

"In your room. I'll get it, if you say so—"

"Well, get it then, quick, quick. I don't want to sleep again."

"Don't be afraid. I'll be back in a second."

She vanished, and reappeared with a bottle in her hand which she put into his shaking hold.

He pushed it to his lips without looking at it. When he had drained it he glanced at the empty bottle. "Was that all?"

"Yes, every bit. But I can get some more this afternoon if you want it."

"Of course I want it, it puts life into me. Ah!"

He drew a deep breath and stretched himself. "That's something like. Now come on." He laid his shaking hand on her arm, and they began to climb the hill together on the path that found its way upward by little juts of the ledge, and little turns round them, and over the rough surfaces where the thin soil left the rock bare. "It's astonishing what it does for a man. It's all that keeps me up, in these enterprises. But don't *you* ever touch it, Hope. It's the best of servants but the worst of masters. If I didn't know how to control it so well, it would play the mischief with me."

Hope said, with the lightness which all the horror of the situation could not sadden in her, "And even *you* don't seem to have the upper hand *always*, father."

Hawberk laughed in sympathy with her lightness. "That's a fact, Hope. But it's very seldom. The great thing is to know when to pull up. I'm all right as long as I'm awake, and there's nothing like it to keep you awake. You've got to use it regularly if you want to get the good of it."

"Well, you've wanted to get the good of it about two hours too soon to-day, father," she said, with caressing mockery.

"Why, what time is it?"

"About eleven."

"Lord, I thought it was after dinner, and I'd gone by my time. You oughtn't to have given it all to me, Hope. I don't know what I shall do now till night."

"I'll get some more for you from Dr. Anther. He wanted you to have it."

"I don't know about that. I believe he wants to keep it away from me, though he knows it's the only thing that will carry me through this pinch of work. I want you to go right after dinner for it—before he starts on his visits."

"I will, I will, father."

"It's the only thing that will keep me awake, and as long as I don't sleep I'm all right."

"Well, I should think you would find it pretty hard to manage without any sleep at all," Hope said, always in the same drolling fashion. "Why don't you try to stop it altogether?"

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"That's just what I'm going to do when I get through this pinch. I've talked it all over with Dr. Anther. We've got the whole thing mapped out, down to the last dot."

They had reached the top of the hill in their talk, which had had as much silence as parlance in it.

Hawberk let go the arm to which he had been clinging less and less dependently, and straightened his bent, wasted frame.

"Fine, fine!" he said, looking dimly out of the caverns under his brows at the prospect. "I think I shall put the house right here. You know I've bought this hill, Hope."

"No, I didn't, father. But I'm not the least surprised to hear it. You keep buying all sorts of things." She had settled herself on the warm brown needles under the pine where he stood; and, as she spoke, she pulled her skirt closely about her knees, and folded it under them. He looked down into her face, and they both laughed.

"But this is a fact, Hope. That last little thing of mine is doing so well in the hands of those people at Boston, that I've decided to build here. We haven't passed the papers yet, but I've got old Arlingham's agreement to sell. Drew it up yesterday before Judge Garley, and left it with him. I'm going to have an architect make the plans. It's to be for you, Hope."

"Me? Oh my! I like the little old place at the foot of the hill well enough."

"It's well enough for your grandmother and me, but I want you to have a decent place when—"

"Well, well! That's all right, father; and I'm ever so much obliged. But you better sit down and have a rest before you begin building." She kept the same joking tone, but there was a sort of nervousness in the haste with which she cut him off from the topic, and hastened to say, "I'll read to you now."

Hawberk obeyed, and leaned his bared head against the trunk of the pine at whose foot he sank; his eyes closed, and he instantly started forward, with a shudder and a cry of "Ugh!"

She closed on her thumb the book which she had just opened, and asked, gravely, "Was it the green one?"

"It's always the green one, now," he lamented.

"Well, then, I'll tell you what, father: you're getting pretty bad again."

"No, no! I'm all right—or I shall be, if I can keep awake. I guess you better talk to me, Hope. Better not read. Seems to set me off at once. You'd just as lief talk, wouldn't you?"

"Oh, yes. It doesn't matter to me. You'll do the talking, anyway."

Hawberk laughed. "I guess that's about so, Hope. The reason I want you to have this place here is because Langbrith and I used to talk about building here together. We used to be great cronies, Royal Langbrith and I did, and it seems quite appropriate—"

"Now, look here, father," the girl broke in, "you're getting on

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to forbidden ground. You may choose any other subject to talk about, and I'm with you, but I can't follow you there."

"Oh, all right, I wasn't going to. But now let me tell you the kind of a house I've got in my head for this place. Of course, some of these pines will have to come down." He got up, and began to walk about and take in the shape of the ground, and pace off certain measurements, and look up at the different trees. "But I shall leave a row of them in front, and a lot off to the side, here." He gestured toward the right, as he came back, and sat down again. "But all back of here the trees have got to go. I want to have you a good big garden, behind the house."

"Well, I'm almost sorry for that," Hope humored his fancy. "I believe I'd rather have the pines than the garden. They do smell so nice, with this sun on them."

"That's a fact," her father assented, sniffing the balsamic odors that the heat drew from the boughs softly stirring themselves in the wind. "Well, I'll leave as many as I can, Hope." He broke off with, "What sort of young fellow is that one who was up here at Easter, with James?"

"He's pretty nice, I believe. What makes you ask?" Her own question had something of the anxiety in it which marked her escape from his approaches to the forbidden topic of Langbrith.

"Oh, nothing. They tell me he's something of a draughtsman; kind of artist."

"Yes, I told you that. What of it?"

"Nothing. But I've thought some of employing him to illustrate the advertisements of that last little thing of mine. Those people down at Boston are going to have it written up in great shape for the back part of the magazines, and I want to have pictures. Suppose he could do them?"

"Yes, I should think so. But now, look here, father: you mustn't go talking this around."

"No, no! I just mentioned it to Dr. Anther the other day. He thinks very well of it."

"Did you say anything about James, to him?"

"No, no, no! Not a word."

"Nor to anybody else?"

"Why, I haven't been home long enough to see anybody else."

Hope left that subject. "Well, now, I'll tell you what, father. I think after you get through this pinch, as you call it, you had better talk with Dr. Anther about leaving off, gradually."

"Why, that's exactly what we did talk about the last time I saw him. We've fixed up a splendid plan. The doctor's all right. I told him what I thought the weak points at the Retreat were, and he agreed with me right along. He's going to study into my case. It's peculiar. I've kept it up so long, and yet there hasn't been a day when I couldn't have left it off. My idea is to stop the thing short off. No dilly-dallying."

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Hawberk's words expressed an energy which his weak tones, and his stumbling gait in his restless movement to and fro as he talked, altogether belied. Hope sat watching him, with a face which her mocking words in turn belied when she spoke.

"Do you think you can manage to catch a little waking spell every now and then till I've been to the doctor's? I don't want that green one round when I'm gone, even if he isn't real."

Hawberk laughed joylessly. "He's got to stay away till night, now, anyway. I can manage him. Don't you be afraid. I'll get your grandmother to give me a good strong cup of coffee at dinner, and that will help to keep him down."

"Well, shall I read now?"

"Yes, read away. I'll keep moving; or if I get to dozing when I stop to rest, poke me with this stick."

He gave her a fallen bough which he stripped of its dead needles and broke to a stout club, and she took it in the drolling humor which formed the atmosphere of their companionship.

There was enough of this feeling in her face and voice to make Anther pause a moment when she asked him, a few hours later, "Doctor, can't something be done about father?" She sat with the stout bottle of laudanum which Anther had given her in her hand, and tilted it back and forth on her knee.

"How do you mean?" he finally asked.

"Well, to make him stop it."

The doctor rose and closed his door, and then sat down again and kept his eyes absently on her smiling face, as if his mind were at work beneath its surface, seeking the measure of her portion in the suffering to which her young life was helplessly related. He was not likely to exaggerate her sympathetic suffering. He had seen how the young life is always defended from the worst misery of the old; how from their common source it flows on in the same channel, and takes no tint or taint from the concurrent stream, but keeps itself pure and glad side by side with the darkest anguish.

"Do you know how much he's taking now?"

"I guess he's got back to nearly the old quantity."

Anther waited again before he spoke. "I didn't expect it so soon after he had got home."

"I don't think the Retreat did him much good. But I believe *you* could, Dr. Anther."

"I don't know, my dear! Does he believe it?"

"Oh, he believes in you; and I know he would like to make an effort to stop it. I know he'd help you. I don't know what he's going to do. He has got to sleep, of course, but the minute he goes off he begins dreaming, and that green one comes, he says, and tries to wall him in. It's pretty awful." She laughed in a queer way, and then the tears burst from her eyes. "You must think I'm a strange person, to laugh at such things."

"No, no," the doctor said, tenderly. "I understand, Hope."

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"I suppose it's my being used to it all my life, that I don't realize it as some others would. And then father is so funny, when he tells about it, and acts it out, as he does. I suppose I'm like him. He knows it's nothing, as well as you do. But it's real while it lasts."

"Yes," Anther said. "But you're right not to distress yourself about it, Hope. That wouldn't do any good, and you can help your father best as you are."

"Well, I am afraid I am of a light nature. Grandma says so. Now and then it all comes to me, what he goes through, and then"—she quivered on the verge of a sob, but controlled herself and said, "Well, I didn't make myself; and I haven't got myself to blame for ever forgetting him, anyway."

"I know that, my dear." Anther sat thinking, till Hope recalled herself to him.

"Don't you believe it's worth while to try again, doctor?"

"Yes, indeed! We must never give up trying." Anther rose again, and opened the silk-lined glass doors which shut in the shelves where he kept his office-supply of drugs, and began mixing a bottle from various bottles before him. He shook the mixture vigorously, with his thumb over the mouth of the bottle, and then corked it, made a little pencil mark on the top of the cork, and gave the bottle to Hope. It was quite like the bottle of laudanum, in size and shape. "There!" he said. "I've marked the cork so that you'll know it, and I want you to keep it where you can substitute it for the laudanum every other time. Understand?"

"Yes, I understand, but—"

"It won't hurt him if he gets the laudanum bottle, now and then, instead of this; it may even help to tide him over a bad place. But try to make the alternations regular. Gradually—"

"Yes, but hadn't he better break it off altogether—at once?"

The doctor shook his head. "It might do in some cases, but it won't do in his." At something insistent in the girl's face he said, "You want a reason? Well, because we've tried it once. It was a good while ago, when you were little, and before you were old enough to know anything about it. We agreed to stop it short off. We agreed with Wason, the apothecary, he was then—young Wason's father—that he wasn't to let your father have anything without my orders on any conditions, whatever. I took his laudanum away, and the third night he came to me half-dressed, through the blinding snow, and woke me, and made me give him the laudanum. I have always been humbly thankful that I had the sense to do it, and I have never tried to stop him short off, since. I tell you this, for I don't want you to let him tempt you into any experiment like that. He is quite likely to smash his laudanum, and try to go it on the other alone."

"I know it!" Hope smiled in recognition of her father's optimism. "He does feel so sure of himself when he makes his good resolutions!"

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She rose with a large bottle in either hand, and the doctor, seeing how she was cumbered, said, "I'm going up your way. Get into the buggy with me, and let me take you home. Nobody else seems coming to-day."

When she was tucked in beside him, he let the old horse jog at will in the direction he had given, and resumed the talk broken off in the office. "Does he take to the same hopeful view of things generally as ever?"

"Well, whenever he can get away from the green dwarf, he does," the girl said. "You know," she smiled across her shoulder into the doctor's face, "he has bought the hill back of our house?"

"I think he mentioned it," the doctor returned with the same quality of smile.

"Yes, he's going to build for me, there. Nothing can stop him. Doctor," she went on with a note of tragical imploring which had not got into anything else she had said of her father, "did he speak to you about—about—James Langbrith?"

She gasped out the name, and nervously put her hand on the doctor's, pinching the buckskin of his glove between her little thumb and forefinger. "Because there isn't—there isn't— Oh, it would kill me if I thought he was talking to people!"

"Oh, poor thing!" said the doctor. "Don't worry! He did speak to me, but, of course, I understood."

"Oh, I don't mind his speaking to *you*," she said. "You're like one of the family; but—but—"

"Well, you needn't be afraid. You know he sees almost nobody out of your own house but me; I cautioned him against talking of that matter, and he usually regards what I say."

"I suppose it's just the dreadfulness of it that scares me. But it would be more than I could bear. Will you speak to him again, doctor?"

"Yes, yes, I will, my dear. Don't you worry!" Anther turned his face away, and smiled to realize that the girl who could keep her courage in the face of misery like her father's should lose all her strength at the thought of having her name coupled with the name of the young man who loved her, and made the talk of the village. But that was youth, and that was life. "Don't you be troubled!" he said, looking at her again. "Nobody would mind what he said."

"Is that much comfort?" she asked.

"It's the most there is," he answered. They drove along in silence broken by the rattling of the loosened nuts in the framework of the old buggy, and the dull clump-clump of the horse's hoofs on the road. Suddenly, as if at the end of a sharp decision, he asked, "Hope, does your father ever speak of James's father?"

"Why, yes, he always says what friends they used to be—cronies. He says he was the best friend he ever had. He was, wasn't he?"

"Oh, yes—yes," Anther said in a lie that sickened him; but he had brought the necessity of it upon himself, and he could only hang

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his averted head in merited shame. "I didn't know but sometimes he took the other turn. You know," he went lying on, "how his mind works by contraries."

"Oh, yes, I know that," Hope said, and she did not reason to the corollary, in her concern with the more personal fact. "But that wouldn't help if he got people gossiping about me."

It came to Anther again, as it had come before, that each generation exists to itself, and is so full of its own events that those of the past cannot be livingly transmitted to it; that it divinely refuses the burden which elder sins or sorrows would lay upon it, and that it must do this perhaps as a condition of bearing its own. He idly flicked the road with the lash of the whip which he so seldom laid upon the back of his lazy old horse.

XVII.

A letter for Hope came from Langbrith the day after he went back to Cambridge, and letters had come from him at frequent, irregular intervals since. They were nearly all of the same tenor, growing more urgent and impatient in their protest of his love for her, and in his demand for some answer more definite than she had been willing to give. She had gone no further than to say, "I do not know whether I care for you or not, in the way you mean. I should not think our being children together had anything to do with it. If it had, I ought to hate you, because you always used to try to domineer over me. If it is any comfort to you, I will say that I do not hate you, but that is the most I can say now. As for promising anything, that is ridiculous as long as I am not certain. I am going to keep myself as free as the air, so that if any one comes along that I like better I shall not be bound to refuse him. But there are such droves of young men passing through Saxmills all the time, I may not be able to choose. If anything can make me choose somebody else, it will be asking so much to choose you. I don't like to be followed up."

Langbrith tried to read the meaning into her letters which he could so little read out of them. But when it came to this last declaration of hers, he thought it best to forbear, and in his answer he held his hand altogether. He did not recur to anything she had said, but made his letter, not without resentment, about Falk and their contributions to *Caricature,* and about some teas and dances which he had been going to in Boston. He wished to philosophize these social facts, and contrast the manners and customs of Saxmills with those of the town. It was his conclusion that, with some superficial advantages, the city was not politer than the village. "The society buds here have a rudeness which strikes me as worse than the freedom among our village girls, which would shock them. People talk of the decay of social life in the country; but I shall be very well satisfied to settle down at Saxmills, when I have got all my tools, and go to work there for life. By the way, I

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hope you will be interested to know that I have been talking with that young sculptor here whom I told you about, and he has taken my idea of a medallion of my father in a very intelligent way. He is a great worshipper of St.-Gaudens, and he is quite with me in not wanting to do anything round or oval. He thinks of an oblong, with the greatest length horizontal, for a head of my father; in the upper left-hand corner, an inscription of three or four lines, with dates and the name, and in the right corner, a relief of the mills as they looked when my father first took hold of the business. He did want to have him holding a relief of them in his right hand, as people are shown holding cities and temples in some of the old sculptures, but I am afraid this would not be understood, and I do not want to have anything that could detract from the serious feeling which the tablet ought to inspire. I wish you would think it over and tell me how the notion strikes you. Don't talk with any one else. I want your opinion alone."

Hope wrote back a scoffing answer, so far as concerned the appeal for her judgment in such a matter, but she freely gave it against the archaic treatment. She said it would look funny. As to the best time for the ceremony of dedicating the tablet, she refused to say anything whatever. But she did say that it seemed to her Decoration Day belonged to the few old soldiers who were left and their families, and it ought to be left to them. It appeared that this notion struck Langbrith as of the most immediate importance. He did not wait to write an answer; he telegraphed: "Thanks about Decoration Day. Perfectly right. Would be ridiculous."

The telegram was brought to Hope while she sat trying to talk her father out of a plan he had for taking Dr. Anther's prescription only half as often as directed. His reason was that he had proved its efficacy so thoroughly that there was no hurry about his cure. He was satisfied now that he could drop the opium habit whenever he liked; but, at present, just while he was working at a new invention in his mind, he needed the tonic and strengthening effect of the laudanum. Hope argued the question with him half jocosely, as she treated all the phases of their common tragedy, and prevailed with him to continue the doctor's treatment to the end of the week. "If you stop it now," she urged, "you'll have that green dwarf back the first time you drop asleep, and I can't stand him. He's made more trouble for this family!"

The grandmother, a fierce little spectre of a woman, with burning blue eyes and a whorl of white hair crowning her wrinkled face, could not make the father and the daughter out. She kept the housekeeping fast in the strong shrivelled hands into which Hope's dying mother's hands had let it fall, but she did not meddle with the girl and her father except in the way of censure and prophecy of doom. "If I had my say, I should fill that laudanum bottle up with good strong black coffee, and not let him have anything but the coffee and the medicine."

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"Then you'd have him tearing the roof off. Father would know the difference between coffee and laudanum the first sip," Hope said.

"And is it a daughter's place to give her father poison?"

"It seems to be *this* daughter's place, grandma. Besides it isn't poison for him, and it's Dr. Anther's orders."

"Oh, a great doctor! I tell you, child," and the old woman flared her fierce visage close in the girl's face, "it won't be the doctor that will have to answer for this."

"Well, I hope nobody will. There must be a great deal of harm in the world that nobody in particular has to answer for."

"Do you mean to tell me," the old woman demanded, "that all the sin doesn't come from sinners?"

"Now, grandmother, you know I don't understand about those things, and I never did, even when I was little and expected to. You'd better ask the people at evening meeting some time. I can't tell you. All that I know is that I'm going to follow the doctor's directions in spite of father and you both, and I'm not going to make it all medicine or all laudanum to please either of you. What is it, father?"

Hawberk had gone down to the side gate at the first menace of dispute, and left Hope and her grandmother to contend over him, while he remained beyond the hearing of the censure which the old woman could always make him feel that he merited, though he had his theories that he was the helpless prey of his evils. Hanging over the gate in his nerveless fashion, he was approached by the boy from the telegraph office, who preferred climbing the hill on a bicycle to bringing a message less laboriously on foot. At sight of him, the old woman quenched her flaring presence in the dark of indoors. She was afraid the boy had heard her lifted voice, and Hope sauntered across the grass while the boy was taking the despatch out of the inside of his cap.

Hawberk looked at the address, and then handed it up over his shoulder to her. "Why, who in the world," she wondered, "has been sending *me* a telegram? Dear, I wish they wouldn't, whoever it is," she said in a laughing panic. And then, having read it and frowned darkly at it and puzzled over it in a second reading, she started back to the house with the laugh, but none of the panic, and the proclamation, "Well, certainly he is the greatest—"

"Any answer?" the boy demanded as sternly as a boy could in supporting himself on his stationary wheel by holding to a picket of the gate.

"No, of course, not," Hope called back, and she added in a lower voice, "Goose!" which, if it was meant for the boy, did not reach him in the swift scorch on which he had instantly started down the hill, in compensation for his difficult climb.

Her grandmother, lurking in the shadow of the cramped entry, tried to stop the girl in her flight up the sharply cornering stairs to her room in the half-story. "What is it, Hope?"

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The girl called down from above, "Just some nonsense from James Langbrith," and, with the telegram flattened and reperused on her table before her, she began to write.

"I have just received your despatch. At first, I thought it must be somebody dying, or telling me that I had been left a fortune; but I decided against that before I opened it. Of course, I am proud to think my opinion is so important that it has to be acknowledged by telegraph. But I guess you had better wait and write the next time. I was not very likely to run off and see the Selectmen and have a town meeting called before I could hear from you by mail. I hope you will not be disappointed if I don't telegraph back. But if everything you have anything to do with is so important, perhaps you will be. I don't know what that new telegraph-girl at the depot will think. She must be trying to puzzle it out by a cypher code and racking her brains over it. Why *did* you send it? Did you think what you had suggested was so very silly that you could not bear to let it go another night before taking it back?"

After venting the agitation of her fluttered nerves in these railleries, she went on to make Langbrith what amends for them she could by writing a longer and friendlier letter than usual; and, when she had finished it, she told her grandmother she was going to the post-office, and perhaps she would stop to see Susie Johns on the way, but she would be back again soon. She tilted down the long hillside street, and her face was as gay with the fun reverberating in her mind from her letter as if she had left nothing but a sunny serenity in the house behind her, where her father was fighting away from the horrors of his dream, and her grandmother was gloomily exulting in the doom that must follow his ill-doing, as if for the reward of her well-doing. While Hope was with them, she felt the oppression of their unhappiness; but out of their presence, it existed for her only as something inevitable, which she must not take any more seriously than James Langbrith's self-importance. The unhappiness made her laugh sometimes, as Langbrith's pomposity did, or the thought of his clumsy truth and the humble pride with which he owned himself wrong in his absurdities.

"What long steps you take!" a voice called after her at a corner she was passing, and she whirled her face over her shoulder to see Mrs. Enderby hurrying to join her. "Hope," the rector's wife said, breathlessly, "you're the brightest and blithest thing in this town."

"Am I, Mrs. Enderby?" the girl laughed, slowing her pace for the friendly lady.

"Don't you know it? Or perhaps you don't, and that's the reason why you can keep it up. Don't try to realize it, child. How are you all at home this lovely morning?"

"Oh, we're always well, Mrs. Enderby. That is—"

She stopped, and Mrs. Enderby went on for her. "I'm not going to make you conscious and you mustn't let me, but just to see that face of yours is inspiration. Were you always so?"

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"Why, I don't know what kind of 'so' you mean. I suppose I'm pretty well all the time, and that makes a difference."

"And I'm not going to tell you that you're pretty without the well, for that never makes any part of the difference. But, Hope, you *are* pretty whether you know it or not."

"Well," the girl drolled, "I don't know as I could do anything about it if I did.

"No, and that's what makes me feel so safe in praising you. I know it won't spoil you. When you came rushing along past the corner, you made me think of some tall flower sloping in the wind. I wish you would tell me just what flower you made me think of! If there was some kind of black iris! Well, I must try to find out."

They laughed together, and Hope said, "If I knew, I might think you wanted to flatter me, Mrs. Enderby."

"No, I'm not flattering you. If I told you what I thought of you that night at Mrs. Langbrith's, you might suppose I was. I couldn't keep my eyes off you. And other people couldn't. I dare say you didn't know it?"

"If I did, I must have forgotten it by this time; it was such a long while ago."

"Hope, you are not only the gayest and prettiest girl here, but you are the wittiest."

"Well, now, I *know* you're not flattering me. It's no more than my just dues to have you say that."

"Oh, I'm only repeating what I hear other people say. I wonder," Mrs. Enderby went on, as if to the very next thing, "whether Mr. Langbrith spoke to you about a great scheme that he has in mind?"

Mrs. Enderby was launched, and nothing in her own nature or the situation could keep her from sailing to her destination. As a Boston woman valiantly and loyally following her husband, not only from the Unitarian cult in which they were both born into the church on whose ritualistic heights the rector had planted his banner, but also from the many lively interests of her native city into the social desolation of Saxmills, she realized from time to time that she owed herself all the amends within her reach, and she was not one to be guilty of the injustice of withholding them. She had been charmed with Hope from the first, and when she perceived, as she did very early in the history of her establishment in Saxmills, what this poor, pretty, happy, tragical creature obviously was to the young owner of the local industry and prosperity, the mother heart of her childlessness bowed itself upon them both, and held her in the hope of at least so revealing them to each other that they need not err as to their mutual meaning. The affair satisfied the most recondite demands of her soul by its romantic properties; and that disparity in the worldly fortunes of the pair did not affect her with a sense of unfitness, as it might have done if they had been Bostonians. They were both natives of a place that, without any sort

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of social traditions, had grown from a small village under the magic of the elder Langbrith's enterprise into the busy little town she knew; and the picturesque legend of Langbrith's forbearance with the infirmity of Hope's father until he could forbear no longer, touched the fancy of Mrs. Enderby as the material of a peculiar tie between the young people. Something better than her fancy was pleased with the notion of the fathers' reconciliation in their children.

"About what scheme?" Hope asked with the inevitable hypocrisy.

"He was speaking of it to the gentlemen after the ladies left the table that night, and Dr. Enderby mentioned it to me. Why! I don't know but it's a tremendous secret, and I oughtn't to talk of it!"

Hope wished to talk of it, and now she had to unmask. "Was it the tablet he wants to put into the library to his father?"

"You do know about it, then!" Mrs. Enderby rejoiced. "What do you think about it?"

"Why, nobody could have any objections, could they? If his father gave the library building to the town?"

"No, certainly. I fancy they'll be only too glad to have him do it. At any rate he's going on with it. He's got a sculptor to design it, and as soon as it is finished he is going to have it dedicated here. He hasn't fixed on just the time. Dr. Enderby had a letter from him this morning, saying he had thought of Decoration Day, but that he had consulted with some one in whose taste he had special confidence, and this mystical unknown had suggested to him that it would be taking the day from those whom it belonged to for something else; and he wanted Dr. Enderby to suggest another date not much later. Dr. Enderby proposed his father's birthday, and very likely he will decide on that unless his unknown adviser counsels differently. Do you suppose it is that Mr. Falk who was here with him?"

"I think he would be likely to *ask* Mr. Falk," Hope demurely conceded, with eyes that could not help falling under Mrs. Enderby's.

"Well, whoever it is, Dr. Enderby admires his sense and his feeling." And, at this, the question in Hope's mind whether she should tell Susie Johns about the affair went out of it. She could not do so now without seeming to brag. She was not going to brag, but she felt proud of having the sense and the feeling that Dr. Enderby had praised. "Dr. Enderby liked Mr. Langbrith's frankness, too, in confessing his own want of thoughtfulness."

"Yes, that was nice," Hope said, with some tacit misgiving for the sarcastic tenor of the letter in her pocket. She said to herself that it was the only way to get along with James Langbrith. If you did not laugh at him a little, he would be unbearable. But she thought that, if she found a letter from him in the post-office, she might not mail hers, at least till she had read his.

"Dr. Enderby," the rector's wife pursued, "thinks very highly of Mr. Langbrith. Of course, every one has their faults, but he

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thinks Mr. Langbrith really tries to overcome his when he sees them, and he bears being shown his weaknesses very well. Dr. Enderby says that is the most uncommon kind of virtue. I didn't quite like Mr. Falk's sarcastic tone with him, but I suppose Mr. Langbrith knows how to take care of himself. Sometimes young men seem to enjoy that. It's like their 'scrapping,' as they call it. But Dr. Enderby says that Mr. Langbrith was just as nice with the cold way Dr. Anther took his plan for the tablet."

"Didn't Dr. Anther like it?" Hope asked.

"Apparently not. He didn't say why, and that made it all the more awkward for Mr. Langbrith. Dr. Anther didn't seem to take any interest in the project, and yet Mr. Langbrith's father was his old friend."

Hope mused darkly for a moment, then she brightened to a laugh. "Well, it doesn't seem to have discouraged Mr. Langbrith very much."

"No, it hasn't," Mrs. Enderby recognized with a laugh of her own, "and I'm glad of it. I think it's a very good plan, and it will be an attractive addition to the front of the library—so very plain. I believe in commemorating such things. It helps to make a place historical, and we have so little history. But Mr. Langbrith is so very sensitive, and I don't like to have him hurt. I know he suffers very much when he has found himself in the wrong."

"Nobody enjoys that," Hope suggested.

"No, of course not; but his ideal is so very high. He does always want to do what is fine and noble. I can see that. *I* think he is *rare*. I almost trembled when you got into that little dispute with him that night: he's not as quick as you, Hope." Mrs. Enderby questioned with eager eyes the young face which masked itself against her pursuit in a smile.

"Oh, it wasn't very serious."

"Not for you, of course, but it was for him. He was making a brave show, but I could see how very—very— He isn't as satirical as you are. You must be careful of that keen little tongue of yours. Oh, dear, what am I saying? You do forgive me? But girls don't know how the things they say rankle in young men's minds, and how eager young men are to have the approval of girls they respect. There! There comes Dr. Anther *now*. I wish I had the courage to ask him why he doesn't approve of the tablet. Good-by, dear; I'm going into this store. Are you going to the post-office? I believe I'll go with you—or no! If I waited to meet Dr. Anther, I should be sure to ask him, and I've no right to. Well!"

Mrs. Enderby slipped into the doorway where she had scarcely halted the girl, and Hope tilted on toward the post-office with not so light nor so swift a gait as before. It was silly, of course, to mind what Mrs. Enderby said; but she had now fully agreed with herself that she would not mail her sarcastic note to Langbrith till she had seen whether there was a letter. She flushed when the girl

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clerk gave her a letter from him, and she turned the corner at the post-office to be able to read it unmolested in the by-street leading to Susie Johns's. It was so full of what seemed to her a swelling self-satisfaction, that she did not look up the date to see whether it had been written before her last reached him, but pushed it into her pocket, and hurrying round the square, without stopping to see Susie Johns, she reached the post-office again, and shot the note she had with her into the slot in the door, and walked vigorously homeward, with the full approval of her judgment and a just indignation for her momentary betrayal into a mistaken mercy for an offender so hardened as James Langbrith. She had to pass his mother's house on the way, and she saw Mrs. Langbrith out in the sun before it, stooping to look at the perennials in their bed beside the door. But Mrs. Langbrith did not see her, and Hope got home in a defiance of Mrs. Enderby that kept itself from being articulate with difficulty.

(To be Continued.)

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